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ABSTRACT

Planning (including educational planning) is by nature a political activity. Educational planning begins with, operates through, and ends with politics. Since politics is a crucial factor in determining the nature and effectiveness of a plan, to be efficient planners, management personnel and other planners should study politics and calculate the political factors. Because planning is a political activity, it produces political consequences. Planners should be aware of these consequences and use them as feedback for further planning activities. A related document is EA 003 929. (Author/RA)

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19

Politics in educational planning

by Mohamed A. El-Ghannam

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POLITICS IN EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

Mohamed A. El-Ghannam

Unesco: International Institute for
Educational Planning

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PREFACE

This study stems from the opening session of the 1969/1970 IIEP Expert Fellows Programme at which Mr. Raymond Lyons, IIEP's Director of Training, quoted from the Institute's regulations that participants in the Programme should refrain from becoming involved in political activities.

It seemed to me, however, that planning (including educational planning) is by its very nature a political activity! The outcome was that Mr. Lyons asked me to clarify my view in a lecture which I subsequently gave at the Institute.

During the preparation and later analysis of the lecture new dimensions appeared and it seemed worthwhile to put these down on paper; hence this study.

I wish to express my deep appreciation to Mr. Lyons for his encouragement in writing this study, also to my colleagues at the IIEP who attended the original lecture and participated in the ensuing discussion. My thanks go also to Mr. Raymond Poignant, Director of the IIEP, for the new type of leadership he exerts at the Institute and from which I have benefited during the last few months. I also wish to acknowledge the editorial advice given by Mr. John Hall, the Institute's Publications Officer, in the preparation of this study.

Finally, although I have profited greatly from reading the works of many distinguished writers on the topic and from discussing the subject with my colleagues at the IIEP, I wish to emphasise that I accept full responsibility for any views expressed in this study; such views do not in any way involve the responsibility of either Unesco or IIEP.

M.A. El-Ghannam
Paris, May 1970

INTRODUCTION

This paper is an attempt to examine an area of educational planning new to the IIEP, that of politics. Its aims can be defined as follows:

1. To bring politics to the fore as a crucial factor in determining the nature and effectiveness of a plan, whether at the stage of design, implementation or follow-up.
2. To indicate that planning - or educational planning 1/ - is not only or even mainly a mathematical exercise closely related to economics or dominated by it. It is also, and above all, a calculation and interaction of political factors and images related to the present and expected future. Educational planning starts with politics, operates through politics, and ends with politics. That is why it should be considered as a political activity.
3. To draw the attention of students of planning and educational planning to their primary role as politicians or statesmen while drawing up and implementing the plans, and to stimulate them (and the institutes in which the plans are prepared) to study politics and calculate political factors if they are to be efficient planners in their countries.
4. To consider the political consequences of planning and educational planning, and show how these consequences produce a feedback into planning and educational planning.

I must confess at the outset that I have found some difficulty in writing about politics. This is due both to my personal background and training and to the complexity of the subject matter.

My own specialization is not political science, unless administration is considered to be part of it. Nor have I been a politician in the traditional sense. I have been in the teaching profession for almost twenty-two years, working first as a teacher of social studies in secondary schools, and currently as a university professor in education and educational administration.

I still clearly recall the warning I received from the principal and some senior masters when I first started to teach. They told me quite firmly to keep out of politics. This advice - which in fact had been an item in school regulations since the end of the last century - implied that education was at odds with politics or at least segregated from it. And if a person was to be a teacher, he should be opposed, negative, or at least neutral towards politics. One therefore had to choose between being a politician or a teacher; and since I badly needed bread and security, I had no choice but to teach!

1/ The writer considers educational plans inseparable from development plans. In consequence, planning and educational planning are treated without differentiation in the following pages.

Introduction

I am not going to comment on the validity of such a relation between education and politics. I would like only to mention that the politics which I was advised not to engage in while teaching was party politics, and this is a negligible part of the politics which I am going to deal with here.1/

However, the point I wish to emphasize here is that I am neither a specialist in political science nor a politician in the traditional sense. As a consequence I present this paper with two limitations: the first is that it is politics from an educationist perspective that is dealt with here; the second is that what I write in the following pages is but an introduction to the topic and I hope very much that the International Institute for Educational Planning will explore the subject further, through the means of talks, discussions and research. It is my firm conviction that without politics, planning and educational planning would be void, not only of their meanings, but also of their power as instruments of social change and economic development.

1/ The above statement does not mean that the role of party politics in education and educational planning is negligible. There are some countries, particularly some New States, in which party politics is dominating the scene and sometimes exploiting the schools - teachers, students - and even buildings to achieve its purposes. However, this is not a primary concern of the writer in this paper.

I. THE NATURE OF POLITICS

The subject of politics is one that seems to be fraught with unhealthy emotions. Almost everybody (with the possible exception of politicians) has some fears or misgivings regarding politics; and this feeling sometimes rises to the level of phobia. In the field of education, in particular, many people have inherited this attitude toward politics from the past; and it is considered dangerous to deal with politics, even on the verbal level, as a subject of study. With such an atmosphere, and as a result of it, one finds difficulty in zealously tackling the subject and in finding a dispassionate audience. At the same time the writer on politics has to exert much diplomacy and tackle the political issues in general terms rather than explicitly or directly dealing with specific situations.

Secondly, politics (like philosophy and even more than philosophy) is taken by some writers as anti- or non-scientific thought which has to be discounted or refuted when dealing with a subject or an area of 'modern' knowledge. This is quite obvious in a field like economics where 'economists', as John Vaizey stated it, 'usually use the word (politics) in a somewhat derogatory sense to mean irrational and even anti-economic'.1/ Such a spirit has infiltrated into the field of planning with the predominance of economists and their arithmetic that seems to show no leniency to politics (and even to all social sciences) on the assumption that planning can be scientific only when it is reduced to mathematical formulae.

Thirdly, there is the wide variety of definitions of politics, even in contemporary literature, and among political scientists themselves. I have compiled a list of ten definitions on the following page, and it can be seen from this list how politics varies from being an unsavoury and disreputable activity to a branch of moral philosophy of society or the sublime science of creating happiness for mankind; from the science or art of dealing with the form, organization and administration of the state to policy and decision-making even on the community level and from dealing with human relationships of superordination and subordination, of dominance and submission, of the governors and the governed, to the study of ideas, values, procedures, and institutions concerned with the role of authority, power, influence and government in a society, etc.

1/ John Vaizey, 'Criteria for Public Expenditure on Education' in The Economics of Education, edited by E.A.G. Robinson and John Vaizey, London, Macmillan, 1966, p. 451.

Some definitions of politics

1. Politics - as ill-understood - is the art of governing mankind by deceiving (Oxford English Dictionary).
2. Politics is the science (and art) of dealing with the form, organization and administration of a state or part of one, and with the regulation of its relations with other states (Oxford English Dictionary).
3. Politics is that branch of moral philosophy (public or social ethics) dealing with the state or social organism as a whole (Oxford English dictionary).
4. Politics is that sublime science which embraces for its object the happiness of mankind (Oxford English Dictionary)
5. Politics deals with human relationships of superordination and subordination, of dominance and submission, of the governors and the governed. The study of politics is the study of these relationships of political power (V.O. Key, Jr., Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups; New York, Crowell, 1955, pp. 3,4).
6. Politics is pre-eminently the making of policy - that kird of authoritative *policy adopted for a society and the way it is put into action* (D. Easton, The Political System, New York, Knopf, 1953, p. 128).
7. Politics is the activity (negotiation, argument, discussion, application of force, persuasion, etc.) by which an issue is agitated or settled (M. Mayerson & E.C. Banfield, Politics Planning and the Public Interest, Illinois, The Free Press, 1955, pp. 302-12).
8. Political change in its broadest sense is the alteration of the ideas, values, procedures, and institutions concerned with the role of authority, power, influence and government in a system (society). (Martin Kilson, Political Change in a West African State: A Study of the Modernization Process of Sierra Leone, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press, 1966, p. 281).
9. Politics is the process of making significant community-wide decisions (Gladys M. Cammerer & Associates, The Urban Political Community, Boston, Houghton Mufflin Co., 1963, p. 274).
10. Politics of Education is the process of making basic educational decisions of local district-wide, state-wide, or nation-wide significance. Ralph B. Kimbrough, Political Power and Educational Decision Making: Chicago, Rand McNally & Co., 1966, p. 274.

My feeling is that these definitions are all based upon different approaches to the subject, yet none of them is completely satisfactory. Furthermore, I do not think that such a list, or any other list for that matter, could hope to be fully satisfactory and give indications of what politics really is. For myself, all these definitions have some value, and each will have some influence on my approach to politics.

Fourth, and this is closely related to the previous problem, if we approach closer to actual day-to-day conditions and ask ourselves what is 'political', the question becomes more difficult to answer. The aspects of life are so interrelated and integrated that it is difficult to judge where politics start and where it ends. Politics is not only one aspect of life, it also permeates other

aspects of life, and vice versa. Furthermore, there are points where politics become related to another aspect of life, say economics, with the result that this latter aspect becomes an absolutely political factor. 1/

I recently met a friend of mine, with wide experience in India. This country as we know is overpopulated, it now has more than 500,000,000 inhabitants, and every 26 to 28 days a million babies are born to make the population problem more persistent and acute. My friend told me that birth control is a political as well as a social issue in India, not only because it is of public concern, but also because some minorities consider it a manoeuvre to impede their development as political powers within the state.

Also, some few weeks ago, I was reading a book on political change in an African State 2/, and I found the author talking about the beginnings of the modern middle class, of urban wage labourers, of the peasantry, of district councils, and of education... All of these were elements in the political process.

It is because of this interrelation and interaction between politics and other aspects of life, that we find a whole string of terms in current usage linking politics with disciplines. Among these terms are: political philosophy, political economy, political sociology, political anthropology, political culture, and political behaviour.3/

This does not mean, however, that politics is every man's land and no man's land. Political scientists during the last few years have been making deliberate efforts to identify the field of politics scientifically and define its boundaries. Different approaches in this respect have been adopted, and perhaps the most attractive of them is the systems approach. This approach appears in the recent writings of Gabriel A. Almond, James S. Coleman, Samuel H. Beer, Adam B. Ulam and David Easton and expresses itself in the concept of 'political system'.4/ According to Beer and

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1/ Engels said 'Force (that is, state power) is also an economic power'. Quoted in G. Sorokin, Planning in the USSR; Problems of Theory and Organization, Moscow Progress Publishers, 1967, p. 61; see Also Gunnar Myrdal, The Political Element in the Development of Economic Theory, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1953.

2/ Martin Kilson, Political Change in a West African State: A Study of the Modernization Process in Sierra Leone, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press, 1966.

3/ See David L. Sills (ed.), International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences The MacMillan Co. and The Free Press, 1968, vol. XII.

4/ Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman (eds.), The Politics of the Developing Areas (Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press, 1960); Samuel Beer and Adam B. Ulam (eds.), Patterns of Government: The Major Political Systems of Europe New York, Random House, 1964 ; David Easton, A Framework for Political Analysis, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1965. A Systems Analysis of Political Life, New York, John Wiley & Sons Inc., 1965.

Ulam, politics is that system or sub-system which performs the distinctive function of making legitimate policy decisions - or the function of 'goal attainment' for the society of which it is a part. A political system is, then, distinguished from other societal systems (economic, social, etc.) by the ability to make decisions which (a) are concerned in the first place with policy, that is, they define courses of action for the society directed at more or less clearly conceived goals, and (b) have legitimacy, that is, to some extent, members of the society accept them as being in conformity with their conceptions of 'authority' and 'purpose'.1/

When viewed as a 'system', politics needs a boundary; as Gabriel Almond says:

> 'By the existence of a boundary in the political system we mean that there are points where other systems end and the political system begins. We may illustrate this point in the following way. The murmurs and complaints in the bazaar in Baghdad are not in the political system until they break out, for example, in an act of violence - an anomic act of interest articulation - or when Haroun el-Rashid disguised as a water bearer, overhears the murmurs and translates them into political claims. As the diffuse and inarticulate murmur is translated into a claim of the use of 'public authority' it passes the boundary and enters the political system as an act of 'interest articulation'.2/

Also when viewed as a system, attempts are made to 'structuralize' that system in terms of elements, structures, and sub-systems. Here we find the traditional compartmentalization of the political system into the legislature (with the related electorate and party system), the executive, and the judiciary; also the national political system, the state political system, and the local government units (cities, counties... etc.). Again Beer and Ulam offer another analysis based on means, ends, and outcomes of the political system. This analysis distinguishes four main elements or patterns within the system, which are:

1. The pattern of power - the set of goals that various individuals may be influenced.
2. The pattern of interests - the set of goals that various individuals or groups are pursuing.
3. The pattern of policy - the decisions as consequences of the interplay of power and interests.
4. The pattern of the political culture - the set of attitudes, beliefs, sentiments, and ideals which provide the underyling assumptions and rules that govern behaviour in the political system .3/

1/ Beer and Ulam, op. cit., pp. 21.22.

2/ Almond and Coleman (eds.), op. cit., p. 8. It ought to be noted that despite this attempt to define the boundary of the political system, it is still, and cannot but be, an open boundary.

3/ Beer and Ulam, op. cit., pp. 27, 28 cff.

Further, the political system is viewed in terms of functions, and inputs and outputs, Holt and Turner define functions as activities (or sets of activities) of government that contribute to the satisfaction of functional requisites of the social system at the societal level. These functional requisites of the social system are (i) adaptation, (ii) goal attainment, (iii) pattern maintenance and tension management, and (iv) integration.1/ Almond defines and classifies the functions of the political system into (a) input functions which are: (i) political socialization and recruitment,(ii) interest articulation, (iii) interest aggregation, and (iv) political communication; and (b) the output functions which are (i) rule making, (ii) rule application, and (iii) rule adjudication.2/

Finally, political systems are viewed in terms of types. Until recently, writers in the field defined two diametrically opposed basic types - the modern political system and the traditional political system, and conceived change from the latter to the former as transmutation. Contemporary students of political modernization have developed more complex formulations. The process of political modernization is usually conceived as development from a traditional stage, through a transitional stage, to a modern stage. Thus three types are identified. The main features which distinguish these three are identified primarily in comparison with the modern political system as the basic model. Almond differentiates the modern political system from the traditional on the basis of seventeen to twenty separate dimensions, two of which are major and the rest secondary, related to what he calls 'style' (the mode or manner in which a function is performed). The two major dimensions are (i) structural-functional differentiation - structural non-functional, and (ii) secular-theocratic.3/

These attempts to explore the political system, analyze its content and functions, identify its boundary and types, are of importance not only to the political scientists, but also to other specialists who are seeking to identify the relation of their studies and work to the political system. This applies to educational planners, as we shall see in the following pages.

1/ Robert T. Holt and John E. Turner, The Political Basis of Economic Development, New York, D. Van Nestrand Co., Inc., 1966, pp. 50-60.

2/ Almond and Coleman, op. cit., p. 17.

3/ Holt and Turner, ibid., Chapter I; Almond and Coleman, op. cit., pp. 3-64. It is worth noting that Apter in his studies on political change in Africa (The Gold Coast in Transition; The Political Kingdom in Uganda) has developed three models of the forms that the transitional political system may take; (i) a mobilization model (in which a single party dominates and is engaged in drastic and thorough reorganization of the society), (ii) a consocietal model (representing a joining together of constituent units which do not lose their identity when merging in some form of union), and (iii) a model of the modernizing autocracy (in which change can be adopted and absorbed by the traditional system of authority).

II. WHY POLITICS IN EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

After the above statement on the nature of politics one would like to ask: Why politics - with all its complications - in educational planning? Why should educational planning - which has been refined by intellectual exercises, advanced mathematical models, and economic calculus - open its doors to politics, that complicated reality and 'underdeveloped' science?

My reply is: Politics should have a place - a prominent place - in educational planning, in theory and practice, for four fundamental reasons (i) the 'partial' or 'political' character of education itself, (ii) the interdisciplinary nature of educational planning as an area of study, (iii) the de facto interaction between educational planning and politics, and (iv) the contemporary concern with the study of 'politics of development'. 'political modernization', and 'development administration', and its implications for planning and educational planning.

It is relevant to devote some pages to the elaboration of these four reasons.

1. The 'Partial' Character of Education or the Myth of Separating Education from Politics

The relationship between education and the polity has been the concern of scholars since ancient times. It was Plato (in his Republic) and Aristotle (in his Politics) who first clarified this relationship and affirmed some principles embodied in phrases such as: 'education is a creature of polity', 'the school is a powerful instrument in building or rebuilding a state', 'the school usually patterns citizens after the image of the state', and 'as is the state so is the school'.

In modern times, particularly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, these principles became a truism, not because they were handed down from the past, but mainly because societies, in their process of modernization, have undergone drastic changes which made the relationship between education and the polity a real reflection of these principles. Education has become, both de jure and de facto, a state function or responsibility; and schools came to be created of and continued through 'the tooth and claw politics' of state authorities.1/ In the eyes of the state, education

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1/ In many developing countries further governmental control of education is needed. In this respect Gunnar Myrdal says: 'Effective reform of almost every kind (in South Asian countries) must assume a firmer governmental control of educational institutions. There is no point in devising an over-all plan for the development of the educational system unless the government exerts its authority to ensure realization of the plan.' Gunnar Myrdal, Asian Drama: An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations, New York, Pantheon, 1968, vol. III, p. 1820.

has become 'the key that unlocks the door to modernization', the means for achieving and perpetuating independence and social solidarity, the 'correlate, if not the requisite, of a democratic order, and the source of power, national pride, and progress'.1/ It has been mobilized, further, to achieve superiority in the international scene and some states have echoed the sentiment: 'The prizes will not go to the countries with the largest populations. Those with the best systems of education will win'.2/

The contemporary adoption of planning, particularly comprehensive planning, in theory and practice, by some countries pushed education further into the grip of politics, since 'a plan for development', as Myrdal states it, 'is in essence a political program', and 'plan-making is itself a part of the political process in a country'.3/

At the same time, education has become a major public concern; and public involvement and participation in education has become a phenomenon of the age. This trend asserted the political character of education since 'politics means public involvement; (and consequently) those who wince at the association of education and politics may be in the same position as the fellow who said he could cut his car's operation and maintenance expenses by eliminating the engine'.4/

Besides the above social and educational trends in modern times, contemporary philosophical and empirical studies on education have proved that schools are but integral parts, or cells, of an organism which is the community or society at large, and that the nature of these cells is determined by societal factors - among which the political factors are important - that exist outside the schools. Even the quality of education is the sum total of the action and interaction of factors in the community or the society itself. A sizeable body of literature has developed on this subject since the nineteen-thirties.5/ But since our main concern here is with politics, it suffices to refer to a comment in this respect:

1/ See: James S. Coleman (ed.), Education and Political Development, Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press, 1965, Introduction.

2/ This statement was delivered by Mr. Anthony Eden, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, 1955.

3/ Myrdal, op. cit. p. 1889.

4/ Jack M. Campbell, 'The Politics of Planning and Change', in Planning and Effecting Needed Changes in Education, edited by Edgar L. Morphet and Charles O. Ryan, New York, Citation Press, 1967, p. 156.

5/ See, as for example, Paul R. Mort, 'School and Community Relationships to School Quality', Teachers College Record, New York, vol. 55, January 1955, pp. 201-214; Donald H. Ross (ed.) Administration for Adaptability, New York, Metropolitan School Study Council, 1958; Roald F. Campbell and John A. Ramseyer, The Dynamics of School Community Relations, New York, Allyn and Bacon, 1951.

> 'The studies of community power structure have demonstrated that education is - and indeed ought to be - in politics. For example, these studies demonstrate that many professional educators and lay boards of education (in the U.S.A.) do not have sufficient power to legitimize (make generally acceptable) major policy changes for schools. Educators are confronted with the fact that leaders other than schoolmen in the political system of the state and local school district may hold greater power to legitimize ideas than does the professional group... When educators actively seek the legitimization and subsequent adoption of changes in the educational policies or the scope of educational activities, they are engaged in politics... It seems reasonable to expect that educational leaders interested in changing the schools should become good politicians.'1/

Despite the actual relationship of education to politics, and the findings of research on the subject, there are still some educational philosophers and practitioners who cling to the belief that education must be 'impartial'. To them, the perfect school or institute is one that keeps itself aloof from politics, and is even isolated from changes in its society. Such a school does not look beyond its walls and limits itself to teaching the 'essentials' of knowledge or the 'perennial' principles of life as espoused in the classics and works of great thinkers in the past. Its aim is the development of man, whose essence is 'mind' or 'spirit', irrespective of time and place.2/ According to this view, there is a sharp line of demarcation between the professional in education and the politician, and the two are, and should be, at variance with each other.

As I see it, such a view of or attitude towards education is but a 'metaphysical' outlook and an outworn tradition. It reflects wishful thinking that does not correspond to either current reality or the probable shape of things to come. Anyone who clings to it will do harm to education rather than benefit it. He will be like an ostrich which buries its head in the sand and denies to itself that the wind - and here it is the political wind - is blowing.

It is an accepted fact that education is a creature of polity, and, in a sense, a political phenomenon. If education is denied its political character, it will not be the education of its time. That is why educators, and educational planners in particular, should be concerned with politics.

2. The Multi or Inter-disciplinary Character of Educational Planning

A second reason for our concern with politics is the nature of educational planning itself. This nature is well expressed by Raymond Poignant in the following statement:

1/ Ralph B. Kimbrough, 'Power Structures and Educational Change' in Planning and Effecting Needed Changes in Education, New York, 1967, p.116; see also by the same author, Political Power and Educational Decision-Making, Chicago, Rand McNally & Co., 1966.

2/ See the philosophies of 'Essentialism' and 'Perennialism' in Theodore Brameld Philosophies of Education in Cultural Perspective, New York, 1955.

> ' The rationalization of the development of educational systems which has been undertaken under the name of 'educational planning' does not represent , at least according to the existing 'state of the art', a particular scientific discipline. Above all, it is a method which draws upon the knowledge acquired in many scientific fields and with a wide range of techniques'.
>
> 'The science and techniques of education, as a whole, (pedagogy, psychopedagogy, sociology of education, economics of education, technology of education, etc.) are naturally the main foundation of educational planning activities. Specialists in other disciplines are also called upon: manpower specialists, experts in administrative and financial science, statisticians, technicians in school and university building, etc.'
>
> 'The preparation and implementation of the educational plan is therefore to a high degree an inter-disciplinary task. It implies close collaboration between researchers and practitioners - if research and action can in fact be divided in such a field'.1/

It is quite obvious from the above statement that the key to the nature of educational planning is its multi- or inter-disciplinary character. Some disciplines are mentioned - in the statement - as the foundations of educational planning: pedagogy, educational psychology, economics of education, etc. All these disciplines are undoubtedly of great importance in educational planning, but they are not greater in importance than politics.

I am not going to rely on my personal argument in proving the importance of 'politics' in educational planning. Suffice it to refer to the judgment of some authorities in this respect. And I here quote only two statements, one by an economist and the other by a professor of political science.

> 'In making a plan, technique is subsidiary to policy ... The economics of planning is not very complicated, the secret of successful planning lies more in sensible politics and good public administration'.2/
>
> '... Educational planners and development economists have unrealistically tended to exclude political considerations... from their own plans. They have been motivated by a compulsion for professional purity, deference to the hypersensitivity of the political elites whom they were advising, or sheer political ignorance. Political imperatives and constraints, however, as well as probable political consequences are integral parts of this extremely complex issue. They should be given explicit recognition and due weight in all development planning, whether the specific goal is educational advance, or economic development or both'.3/

The above statements, I think, provide good judgment on the close relationship between politics and educational planning, and indicate, in consequence, that due concern should be given to politics in planning. It is relevant here to mention - before turning to another point - that in the

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1/ Raymond Poignant, 'Aim, Content, and Method of the Training Programme for Interns', International Institute for Educational Planning - Academic year 1969-1970, underlining by the writer.

2/ W. Arthur Lewis, Development Planning, London, George Allen & Urwin, 1966.

3/ James S. Coleman, op. cit., p. 525.

contemporary international scene there are ideologies that identify planning with politics; planning with politics; planning and educational planning are synonymous with politics. And in this case (which applies for example to the Marxist ideology) there is no need at all to convince those who are concerned with planning and educational planning that politics has a place.1/

In any event, my purpose in this paper is not to shift planning and educational planning to politics, but rather to identify the place of politics, as a discipline and as a system, in planning and educational planning.

3. The de facto Interaction between Educational Planning and Politics in Reality

During the last ten or fifteen years, literature on the politics of planning, education, and educational planning has developed, and some studies analyzing the interaction between politics and planning have appeared.2/

Here, I take only one example - an example that took place very recently in the U.S.A. It is true that in the U.S.A. planning does not have a favoured place in the political culture; however, it has become a reality in actual life, and it is now an accepted reality in the field of education, more particularly at the programme and project level.

1/ See G. Sorokin, Planning in the USSR: Problems of Theory and Organization, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1967. On page 28, in particular, Sorokin says: 'The fact that planning (politics) is secondary and objective economic laws (the economy) primary does not mean that politics are a silent partner in this union (between plans and the law of planned, balanced development). But since we are investigating the economic aspect of human activity, which in socialist society is organized to achieve desired ends, and this activity is guided by the requirements of economic laws, politics, in this sense, carry more weight than the economy, for they arm and organize the practical activities of the people in socialist society. 'Politics', Lenin said, 'must take precedence over economics. To argue otherwise is to forget the ABC of Marxism'.'

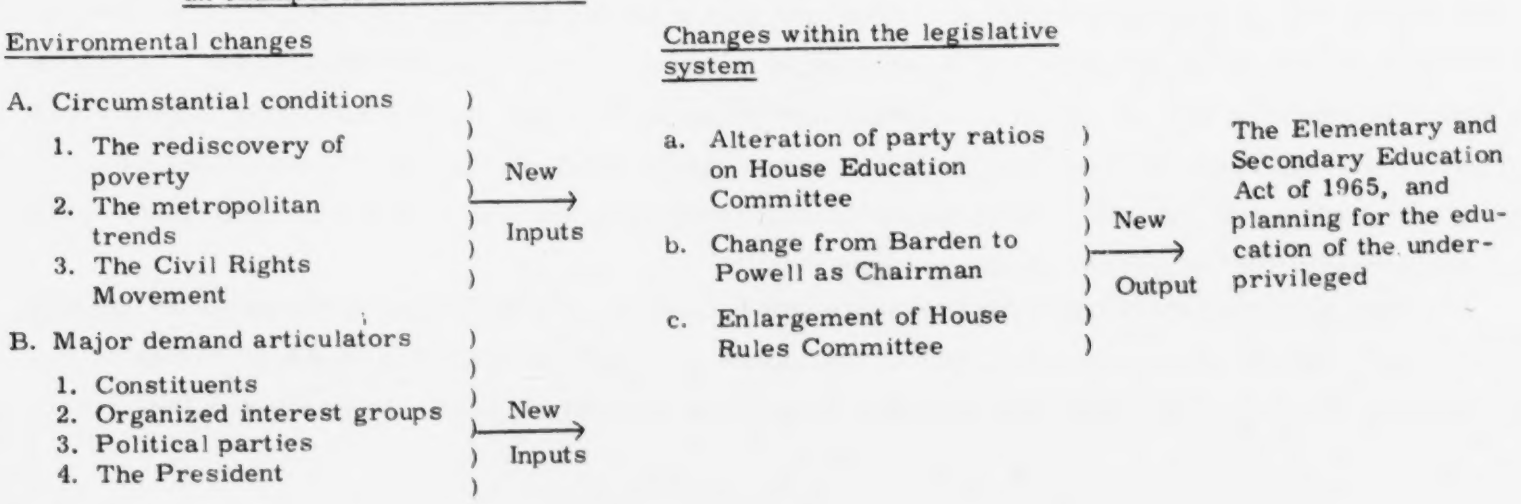
2/ See, as examples, M. Meyerson and E.C. Banfield, Politics, Planning, and the Public Interest (Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1955); Joseph LaPalembara, Italy: The Politics of Planning (Syracuse, Syracuse Univ. Press, 1966); Allan K. Campbell, 'Politics of University Involvement in Social Change', in Political Backgrounds of Adult Education, edited by Thomas Cummings, Jr., Boston, Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1967; Nicholas A. Masters, 'Political Problems involved in Educational Planning' in Planning and Effecting Needed Changes in Education New York, 1967; Ralph B. Kimbrough, op. cit.; Philip Meranto, The Politics of Federal Aid to Education in 1965; A Study in Political Innovation, Syracuse, Syracuse Univ. Press, 1967.

Also, it is well known that the U.S.A. is the richest country in the world; yet poverty and underdevelopment are lingering in some pockets of it. This poverty and underdevelopment can be influenced by educational programmes and consequently this fact is reflected in educational provisions. For example, some four years ago, the Federal Government enacted a law, that came to be known as the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. According to this law more than $1.3 billion were authorized for the education of the socially underprivileged children in the U.S.A. for the fiscal year 1966. Further allocations were authorized for subsequent years, and plans for expanding and improving this type of education began to be formulated.1/

How did this come to happen? What politics were behind it? Or, in other words, how did plans for the education of the socially underprivileged come to be an output of the dynamics of the political system in U.S.A.?

In an attempt to find an answer, Philip Meranto, who adopted a systems approach and applied it only to the legislative sub-system, provides us with a clear model of the legislative changes that resulted in the 1966 Act (and educational planning for the socially underdeveloped) as output. The model appears below.

Diagram 1. How political changes (input) affect planning for education (output) : an example from U. S. A. 1965


Environmental changes
A. Circumstantial conditions
1. The rediscovery of poverty
2. The metropolitan trends
3. The Civil Rights Movement
B. Major demand articulators
1. Constituents
2. Organized interest groups
3. Political parties
4. The President
New Inputs
New Inputs
Changes within the legislative system
a. Alteration of party ratios on House Education Committee
b. Change from Barden to Powell as Chairman
c. Enlargement of House Rules Committee
New Output
The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and planning for the education of the underprivileged

1/ It should be noted that federal aid to education in U.S.A. is higher than the above mentioned amount. The Federal Government had already been offering aid to other aspects of education : In 1968, the total amount of the appropriations earmarked to education by the Federal Government was more than $5 billion in which the share of Elementary and Secondary Educational Activities was only $1.7 billion; Nicholas A. Masters, op. cit., p. 146.

The model shows how environmental changes (the rediscovery of poverty, the metropolitan trend, the Civil Rights movement, and other major demand articulators) were new inputs in the political system that brought changes in the U.S. Congress. These changes in turn yielded the new output of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, with the subsequent planning for the education of the underprivileged.1/

However, Meranto's model tells only a part of the story of the interaction between politics and educational planning. Two other parts have to be considered: One is the role of politics in educational planning at the state and community level where plans are really designed and implemented. The second is the political effects of the implementation of educational plans (if properly executed), on the future of the U.S.A.

4. Contemporary Concern with the Study of 'Politics of Development', 'Political Modernization', and 'Development Administration'

Now, we come to the fourth, and last, reason for having politics in educational planning.

Again, during the last ten or fifteen years, concerted efforts have been directed by specialists to the study of the phenomenon of development and modernization resulting from the strategy of politics, together with public administration which can be viewed as an integral part of politics.2/ These studies are of importance to those concerned with planning and educational planning for two main reasons: one is that the object of these studies is 'development' and 'modernization', which is the same for planning and educational planning; and the second is that these studies show how politics and public administration are crucial factors in determining development and modernization - a finding which planners and educational planners have to be well aware of, otherwise their plans would be merely intellectual exercises with paper and pencil.

I am going to select from the literature two examples, one dealing with the political basis of development, and the other with development administration and its relevance to the problems of development planning. The first is an analysis of political requisites and prerequisites in the

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1/ Philip Meranto, op. cit.

2/ See, as examples, Robert T. Holt and John E. Turner, op. cit.; Martin Kilson, op.cit.; Edward S. Mason, op. cit.; Almond and Coleman, op. cit.; David E. Apter, The Politics of Modernization, Chicago, The Univ. of Chicago Press, 1965; Saul M. Katz, A Systems Approach to Development Administration, Papers in Comparative Public Administration Special Series, No. 6, Washington, 1963; Peter W. Rodman, Development Administration: Obstacles, Theories, and Implications for Planning, IIEP Occasional Papers, No. 2, Paris, 1968.

take-off'1/ stage of economic development in Japan in the last decade of the nineteenth century. And the second is a systems analysis of development planning and action designed to provide a conceptual framework for further improvement.

According to Holt and Turner, the last decade of the nineteenth century marked the start of the 'take-off' in Japan's economic development. But for political requisites and prerequisites during that decade and before it, Japan would not have achieved that take-off which put it on the road to modernity. These political prerequisites and requisites in Japan's case can be summarized as follows:

1. The Meiji Restoration (1867-68) and the realization of political stability in Japan.
2. The establishment of central authority that held tight reign over the country.
3. Most of the power was put in the hands of the executive body.
4. The development of a more reliable enforcement machinery for carrying out politics on a country-wide basis. (The establishment of a professional civil service along Prussian lines.)
5. Heavy engagement on the part of the government in the process of resource allocation. (The mean government share of gross domestic fixed capital formation from 1887 to 1896 was 42.5 per cent. The proportion was higher in later decades.)
6. State initiative of almost all important Japanese industry of Western type.
7. Great concern of the state with infrastructure projects.
8. Government subventions to private enterprises besides some regulations of corporations and other forms of business activities.

1/ In his The Stages of Economic Growth, Cambridge, 1960, W.W. Rostow defined five stages of economic growth: (i) traditional, (ii) pre-conditions for take-off, (iii) take-off, (iv) drive to maturity, and (v) high mass consumption. Holt and Turner in their Political Basis of Economic Development New York, 1966, suggested some changes in these stages and their sequence: (i) traditional economy, (ii) take-off, (iii) drive to modernity, (iv) modernity, and (v) post modernity. Rostow seems to identify take-off by the presence in society of three factors: (i) a rise in the rate of productive investment from say 5 per cent or less to over 10 per cent of national income, (ii) the development of one or more substantial manufacturing sectors with a high rate of growth, and (iii) the existence or quick emergence of a political, social, and institutional framework which exploits the impulses to expansion in the modern sector and the potential external economy effects of the take-off and gives to growth an on-going character. Holt and Turner, on the other hand, defined take-off, simple, as the decade in which product per capita begins to increase at a substantial rate (15 per cent).

9. Revision of the tax system and establishing it on a national basis and the establishment of a tighter and more efficient methods of collection. (The major portion of the tax burden fell upon people who had a low propensity to save).

10. Government's internal borrowing to cover deficits (thus channelling the nation's resources into investment).

11. The government developed efficient mechanisms for collecting private savings and directing the flow of investment capital into officially approved channels.

12. Developing joint stock companies as a means for mobilizing resources.

13. Making the state currency uniform, curtailing public expenditures, increasing taxes, creating sinking funds in order to secure a healthy system of credit.

14. The development of a public-supported system of elementary education: unfolding a plan of compulsory education, establishing technical institutes, importing large numbers of Western experts to train personnel in modern industrial methods; and sending students abroad for special schooling.

15. Replacing social status and other fortuitous factors by 'meritocracy' as a criterion for selecting manpower.

16. The adoption of a policy to restrict the growth of population.1/

It must be noted that, according to this example, the 'take-off' in Japan's economic development occurred without 'planning' in the modern sense. It is the political basis, not the plan, that after all determines the development of a country, particularly in the 'take-off' stage. A country might have the best plans - best in terms of their 'technical' character - but since it lacks the political prerequisites and requisites for development, no substantial development will be achieved.

A similar conclusion was reached by Edward Mason when he referred to the case of China:

> 'In all probability, a large per cent of the remarkable increase in output that has been achieved in China since the Communists took over is probably attributed to the substitution for chaos of something resembling public order. To this extent at least, China's economic progress could have been achieved by any government capable of maintaining internal peace without the benefit of five-year plans or other manifestations of public concern for economic growth.' 2/

Also, Gunnar Myrdal expressed his doubts on development plans in almost all South Asian countries because of political deficiencies in what he calls 'soft states'. By being 'soft' he means 'that throughout the region, national governments require extraordinarily little of their citizens.

1/ Holt and Turner, op. cit.

2/ Edward S. Mason, Economic Planning in underdeveloped Areas: Government and Business, New York, Fordham Univ. Press, 1961. p. 8, 9.

There are few obligations either to do things in the interest of the community or to avoid actions opposed to that interest. Even those obligations that do exist are enforced inadequately, if at all. 1/

Let us turn to the second example, which relies heavily on Saul Katz' study: A Systems Approach to Development Administration. 2/

Katz introduces his study by stating the fact that less developed countries, many with elaborate plans, are not achieving their development action goals.

In Katz' opinion one of the major agents in achieving, or opposing, development action is a country's government, national, regional and local. He asserts that 'Irrespective of whether the future theoretical blueprint gives the government a major or a minor role, the present reality usually requires the government, particularly the executive part of the government, to take a leading role in encouraging, initiating, supporting and directing national development. Yet in many cases, despite professed values and objectives, the government seems unable to mount effective action towards development realization.'

Since development planning, as a means for major societal changes, is concerned with a tremendous variety of complexly interrelated human activities, Katz found out that there is a need to order these actions into meaningful units susceptible of rigorous understanding, evaluation and improvement. In consequence he suggested a systems approach as providing a conceptual framework of general relevance to the problems of development planning.

A preliminary review of the various social sciences and of experience with efforts of development planning led him to identify six inputs as of major importance - conceptually and practically - to development planning. These inputs were also viewed as a defined development target - an output - of a development action system. Hence Katz provides us with the following six action systems: (i) The manpower system; (ii) The finance system; (iii) The logistic system; (iv) The participation system; (v) The legitimate power system; (vi) The information system.

It is worth noting that the first three systems - manpower, finance and logistic - are the major, if not the sole, concern of educational planning. They are not too dissimilar from the customary factors of production, i.e. labour, capital and material resources. The last three, which I consider within the boundary of politics and administration, should be of no less concern to educational planners.

1/ Myrdal, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 895-899. In another place (p.719) Myrdal says: 'Successful economic planning, with all implications of conditioning and directing economic life - and, indeed, the prior ability to reach operational agreements - require a stable and effective, internally united government, conditions of law and order, social discipline, and more generally national consolidation. Even spontaneous, or nearly spontaneous, economic development, given the other necessary conditions, is hardly possible without a considerable measure of political stability.'

2/ Saul M. Katz, op. cit.

III. POLITICS AS INPUTS IN EDUCATIONAL PLANNING OR THE ROLE OF POLITICS IN EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

The remainer of this paper is devoted to a closer examination of the relationship - or inter-relationship - between politics and planning. Since my major concern here is with 'politics in educational planning', I am going to treat planning as a supra-system - thus borrowing from the systems approach some of its elements. Politics will be inputs in planning and we shall see how these inputs determine the character of the planning process.

This chapter, in consequence, is divided into the following twelve sections:

1. Politics as matrix of education and educational planning.
2. Educational planning as a function of politics.
3. Political philosophy (ideology or utopia) as a frame of reference and 'springboard' to educational planning.
4. Public demand for education as a determining factor in educational planning.
5. Intellectual power elite and its role in educational planning.
6. Political leadership in planning.
7. Public support for and participation in plans.
8. Politics, administration, and planning.
9. Politics and the legal aspects of planning.
10. Politics and financing educational plans.
11. Politics and the 'qualitative' in education and educational planning.
12. World politics and educational plans.

The conclusions to the study will briefly outline how the planning process through political inputs will result in political outputs, and these - through the historical process - will feed back into the planning process as new inputs in the future.

1. Politics as Matrix of Education and Educational Planning

Contemporary thought looks on education as an institution not standing by itself, nor existing in a vacuum: it is an integral part of a society in a given place and at a given time. Society is a complex of micro-systems among which the political system is of great importance. It is true that this system, from the point of view of particular philosophies (e.g. Marxism), is a 'superstructure' determined to a great extent by the infra- or sub-structure which is the economic system. Yet this does not contradict or negate the principle that the political system is in its turn and at the same

time, a determining factor that has supremacy even over economics in society. 'Politics', said Lenin, 'must take precedence over economics. To argue otherwise is to forget the ABC of Marxism.'1/

Since education, as an institution, is an integral part of the society in which it exists, it undoubtedly 'internalizes' or reflects, as well as influences (consciously and unconsciously, willingly or unwillingly) the political system that dominates that society. Thus the educational philosophy is a literal or intelligent interpretation of the political philosophy, the educational policy an expression of the interests of the ruling class, the nature of educational administration reflects the nature of the administration of the State, and the educational outputs cope with, rather than are dysfunctional to, the political system. That is why we find a wide variation among educational systems in different countries, and why we face a great difficulty (if not commit serious mistakes) in comparing different educational systems in these countries.

The same is true of educational planning. Its nature is determined largely by the political matrix in which it develops or exists. Hence it differs widely, in theory and practice; from a 'socialist' to a capitalist (or liberal democratic) state; from a 'modern' to a 'traditional' or 'transitional' state; from a good socially disciplined to a 'soft' state; from a highly resolved, reliable, and clarified authority structure to a poor one; from a highly centralized to a decentralized administration; from a state with a well-established 'institutional infrastructure' to a weak one; from a state with a high degree of political stability to another lacking it; from a state with a political culture that is dominated by rationality and reflective thinking to another dominated by superstitions, fortune-telling and relating the future to supernatural powers; from a state with confidence between the government and the people to another that suffers from a wide gap between the governor and the governed; and from a state that has long achieved national consolidation to another that badly needs it. 2/

To take a practical example, let us look at the South Asian countries which were the subject of Myrdal's comprehensive and distinguished study 'Asian Drama'. 3/ In these countries (India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, the Philippines, Thailand, Malaya, etc.) 'democratic planning' - which is a Western ideal - is a favoured idea and a popular term. It is, further, a going concern in some countries, particularly in India. However, 'democratic planning' - in terms of concepts and practice - in these countries is far away from, and even a distorted and superficial picture of, what has been going on in the West. But before identifying the factors, particularly the political factors, that account for this result or reality, mention should be made of what is meant by 'democratic planning' in the West.

1/ See page 20 above, footnote.

2/ For 'resolution', 'reliability' and 'clarification' of authority structure see Holt and Turner, op. cit., pp. 57-58; for 'national consolidation', 'institutional infrastructure', and 'soft state' see Myrdal, op. cit., vol. I p. 63, vol. II pp. 863-67, 895-99, for 'political culture' see Beer and Ulam, op. cit., pp. 32-45.

3/ Myrdal, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 849-899.

Politics in educational planning

Democratic planning means, first of all, that public policies and their coordination in a plan should emerge from a democratic political process and be implemented by a government whose power lies in a popularly elected parliament. Democratic planning also means that planning should involve the masses not only in supporting the plans, but also in their preparation and implementation. It finally means that public participation should emerge voluntarily so that state policies can be carried out without regimentation or coercion.

But this is not the case in South Asian countries (or any developing country for that matter that calls for or attempts democratic planning). First, other concepts under 'democratic planning' are emphasized. One of these concepts is that planning should create greater social and economic equality. This makes 'democratic planning', in these countries, synonymous with 'socialist planning' in its wider and vaguer meaning. Such a concept is held even in India which in a fashion satisfies the political condition of democratic planning in the Western sense.

Secondly, public involvement in the preparation and implementation, and even support, of the plans is one of the greatest weaknesses in planning in South Asian countries. Even in India - where the ideal has always been that the plan should come from the people, meet their wishes and needs, and have their support in thought as well as deed - the people's share is very limited and modest in reality. In a report on problems in the Third Five Year Plan in India it was stated:

> 'The people have had a very limited share in the preparation and execution of the Plans and the awareness of their bearing upon their own well-being is almost completely lacking, and much more so of any all-permeating social purpose without which an individual project and all the projects taken together cannot acquire essential unity or coherence.' 1/

Thirdly, the voluntary nature of public participation and cooperation in South Asian countries is a confused idea. The adherence to it has led to more laxity and 'softness' in the system - a phenomenon which is considered one of the major handicaps to planning and development there. That is why Myrdal came to the following conclusion in his study on the region:

> '... our investigation has convinced us that the success of planning for development requires a readiness to place obligations on people in all social strata to a much greater extent than is now done in any of the South Asian countries. It requires, in addition, a rigorous enforcement of obligations, in which compulsion plays a strategic role. This value premise ... would not in principle conflict with the ideal of political democracy which only concerns the manner in which policies are decided upon.' 2/

1/ Gayan Chand 'Social Purpose in Planning', in India, Government of, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Problems in the Third Plan - A Critical Miscellany, Delhi, Jan. 1961, p. 80, quoted in Myrdal, op. cit., vol. II, p. 851.

2/ Myrdal, op. cit., vol. I, p.67.

Now we come to the political factors that account for the sharp discrepancy between South Asian and some West European countries in democratic planning.1/ These can be summed up as follows:

- The South Asian countries, comparatively speaking, are newly independent states. Even their independence is not, relatively speaking, full independence because of the major problems of underdevelopment bequeathed to them from the colonial era.
- Except as an abstract ideal, political democracy is partly or completely lacking in most South Asian countries. Even where it exists after a fashion, in one or more countries of the region, it is merely a facade that hides behind it 'unreal democracy'.2/
- Weakness of the institutional infrastructure and the lack of effective organs for democratic, co-operative, self-government in the village and grass roots of the countries.
- The existence of great social and economic inequality among the population and the hesitancy of the governments to take practical measures to erase or ameliorate it. As Bendix stated it, 'the villages are asked to co-operate today, not tomorrow, and today they are deeply divided by great economic inequalities and intense communal affiliations. The fact is that the 'public' does not possess the capacity for a village-wide solidarity and organization which may arise in some distant future if and when the conditions of village society have been transformed.'3/
- The domination of poverty, ignorance, passiveness, and outworn traditions and attitudes among the masses. These conditions not only handicap democratic planning, but they also make the masses 'not ready to understand or accept the rationalist ideals of planning for development'.4/

1/ It should be noted that political factors - unless viewed in their very wide sense of embracing the whole societal system - are the sole factors in this respect. Myrdal has called attention to an important factor, as an example, which we have to take into consideration. This factor is what he calls the 'time sequence'. In this respect he says: 'Planning in the underdeveloped countries of South Asia is unlike Western planning in part because of the fundamental difference in time sequence. In the Western countries planning followed development and was the result of a 'natural' process, while in South Asia it precedes development and represents an attempt to create conditions for engendering and directing development'. Myrdal, op. cit., vol. II, p. 867.

2/ Ibid., vol. II, p. 766.

3/ Reinhard Bendix, 'Public Authority in a Developing Political Community: The Case of India', Institute of Industrial Relations and Institute of International Studies, Reprint No. 208, Berkley, California, 1963, p. 75, quoted in Myrdal, op. cit., p. 887.

4/ Ibid., p. 852.

- The aloofness of the administration from the people and the prevalence of unwholesome attitudes among administrators. (This point will be dealt with in further detail under the sub-title of 'politics as the legal and administrative framework of planning'.)
- The low level of social discipline and the 'softness' of the states of South Asia. Myrdal characterizes the countries of South Asia as 'soft states' and considers this character as the most fundamental difference between these countries today and Western countries even at the beginning of their industrialization.1/

If we go further in our analysis, and compare the South Asian countries with each other, we still will find differences in their planning experience due to differences in political contexts and in the role that politics plays in the processes of planning there. That is why planning in India differs from that in Pakistan, and in these two countries from the planning process in Burma, Indonesia, or the Philippines.2/

It should be clear from the above analysis that without identifying the political context and calculating its factors, planning and educational planning would be superficial, deceptive, or incomplete. The politics of planning are no less important, if not more important, than its techniques; and the political feasibility of a plan is no less important, if not more important, than the mental capability to design it and the financial feasibility of its implementation. Perhaps the most important questions a planner in a developing country should ask himself are: To what extent is planning politically feasible in my country? What type of planning is politically feasible? What political factors should I take into consideration when designing or implementing a plan? Also, perhaps the most important question a systems analyst should ask himself in similar circumstances when dealing with an educational issue or project is: To what extent is this or that alternative politically feasible? 3/

2. Planning and Educational Planning as Function of Politics

The word function - as used here - has two meanings: one is the indispensable or subsequent result, activity or indication of a variable. The second is the responsibility or obligation imposed on or assumed by an organization or institution.

1/ Op. cit., p. 896.

2/ Ibid., 730-34, 833-840; see also Edward S. Mason, p. 70 ff.

3/ As far as I know, systems analysis in education is mainly concerned with cost-effectiveness and rarely calculates the political feasibility and consequences of alternatives.

According to the first meaning, sight, for example, is a function of the eye and the consumption of petrol is a function of a running car, etc. If there is no eye (or a substitute for the eye) there will be no sight, and if there is no running car there will be no consumption of petrol (in so far as we are concerned with cars).

The same analogy applies to planning in relation to politics.

Some people argue that planning is as old as civilization. To a greater or lesser degree, human beings, in their individualistic and collective states, have been making plans since the dawn of history. They have been identifying their objectives, calculating their resources and possibilities and considering alternative means for achieving them. But planning in its sophisticated sense as we see or experience it now is only a modern phenomenon and a very new trend. It is a function of 'the Modern State', and particularly the Modern Socialist State or any other Modern State that is adopting Socialist methods. It has appeared very recently in the literature, and it would not have occurred to Aristotle, or any other political scientist (or economist, sociologist, or educationist) until recently, to have thought of 'planning' or to have questioned the right of the government to plan.1/ It is true that Aristotle, and Plato before him, were committed to the principle of state responsibility for education, but none of them, or none after them until recently, dealt with the subject of educational planning. The objective reality of the world before Plato and Aristotle, and after Plato and Aristotle until very modern times, could not generate the notion or practice of planning and educational planning.

We all know from the facts of history that planning, in its comprehensive and its long-term sense, only came into being in the third decade of this century, after the Socialist revolution in Russia. Planning came as an indispensable result of public ownership of the means of production and as an important instrument for movement on the road to Socialism. It further began to be a subject of discussion in Western countries - where the doctrine of laissez faire had been dominating - when the world was threatened by a serious depression in the early thirties, and Western states began to think of interfering, each in its territory, to face the threat. Under the influence of Socialism, in one way or another later on, the practice of planning became increasingly important in the West, even in the U.S.A. Nevertheless, planning in the West, generally speaking, is not without limitations because of political considerations. And it is here that Crosland says:

> 'The real limitations to planning in a democratic society lie not so much in lack of statistical information, appropriate techniques, or administration, as in the obstacles presented by political interests.'2/

1/ Anyone who is acquainted with the literature on the sociology of knowledge would easily accept the above conclusion.

2/ C.A.R. Crosland, The Future of Socialism, London, Jonathan Cape, 1956, p. 503.

Also Mason says:

> 'Since a representation of divergent interests is the essence of democracy, continuous pressure to shape the plan in accordance with such interests must be considered to be an inescapable aspect of democratic planning. '1/

In fact, the functional relationship between planning and politics led to a variety in the nature and character of the former, due to essential differences in the latter in modern developed countries. That is why we find 'projected' and 'indicative' planning on one side, and 'controlled' or 'authorized' planning on the other ... Why planning in a highly centralized government is a different matter (as Mason said) than in a loosely organized federal structure. Further, in a political system that only yields incremental changes (like that in the U.S.A.) planning will be of a short-range nature, while the contrary will be the case in a revolutionary political system.

Alan K. Campbell, in his essay on 'Politics of University Involvement in Social Change' indicates that the American political system is primarily conducive to small incremental change and short-range planning and this trend is a handicap to university progress where long-term planning is looked for.

If we look into the meaning of planning, we will find different concepts due to differences of political contexts. One Western writer defines planning as 'behaviour governed by conscious expectations'; another says 'any exercise of forethought is a plan'; and a third further defines a plan 'as the sum total of economic activity'. According to these definitions, that developed in the U.S.A., all economies are planned economies.2/ The same spirit is reflected in some definitions made by Western educationists. Thus, Edgar L. Morphet says:

> 'Planning is not a process of speculating on probable developments and preparing a theoretical blueprint for meeting needs. Rather it is a process of attempting to determine appropriate goals and objectives, obtaining and analyzing pertinent information that will bring into focus present and emerging problems and needs, and obtaining agreement on steps and procedures that are designed to meet those needs so that the objectives can be obtained. '3/

The above definitions of planning are substantially different from the concept of planning in a country like the U.S.S.R., where emphasis is laid mainly on building the future, the theoretical blueprint of the state, the direction or determination of economic activity, central control, fitting educational outputs to social and economic needs, and finally the approximate correspondence of planning to economic objective laws, particularly the law of planned balanced development.4/

1/ Mason, op. cit., p. 44.

2/ Mason, ibid., pp. 41, 42.

3/ Edgar L. Morphet and Charles O. Ryan, op. cit., introduction, p. xiii.

4/ See Sorokin, op. cit.

I have perhaps given too much weight to developed countries in dealing with planning as a function of politics. However, the above analysis or interpretation suggests a serious conclusion concerning the capability of non-modern, and particularly traditional political systems to bear or yield planning in the modern sense. Since planning is a function of a modern state, particularly a Socialist modern state, a traditional, or non-modern state can hardly bear or give rise to such planning.

But it is necessary here to distinguish between 'giving rise to planning' and 'transplanting the fruits of planning'. Although according to this distinction a traditional or non-modern state cannot give rise to planning, it can still transplant the fruits of planning. That is why we find H.W. Singer pointing out that 'it is fatally easy to set up an elaborate machinery of state planning, and under the conditions obtaining in many underdeveloped areas, such machinery becomes absurdly irrelevant to real needs and possibilities'.1/ We further find Myrdal commenting on the situation in some South Asian countries:

> 'When there is no government able or willing to integrate planning into its functions ... the temptation is particularly strong to overstress the technical and 'objective' character of planning and sometimes to employ experts from abroad. The purpose is not to help the government to make up its mind rationally on the major economic problems of the country into a continual and systematic way on the basis of expert knowledge of the facts - which is what planning is and the only thing it can be - but to give the impression that planning is going on when it is not. The public is deluded into thinking that experts, given time to apply the skills of their craft, will fashion a plan for their country - as if it were a question of ordering a golden Buddha for a temple.'2/

The conclusion concerning the inability of non-modern states to give rise to planning should not be embarrassing to those who are concerned with planning in developing countries. Many of these countries have 'passed the point of no return' and 'the choice of remaining traditional societies is no longer open'3/. They all cherish the 'modernization ideal' and they are seeking - to different degrees - the means to achieve this ideal in which planning is 'the intellectual matrix'. The conclusion only calls us to be both modest and realistic in the consideration of planning in developing countries, as regards theory, techniques and practice.4/ According to the functional theory I have

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1/ H.W. Singer, 'Economic Progress in Underdeveloped Areas', Social Research, March 1949, p. 4, quoted in Mason, op. cit., p. 38.

2/ Myrdal, op. cit., vol. III, p. 1890.

3/ Ibid., p. 1835.

4/ Myrdal calls the South Asian, and other developing countries 'a third World of Planning', and questions the validity of concepts and techniques of planning for application in such a world, simply because these concepts and techniques reflect different cultures; Ibid., pp. 867-899, 1860-2040.

presented, planning can only develop in a state in relation to its level of modernity. But we still must remember that 'without deeper political and social changes (in some developing countries) the initiation of a sustained growth process (with related planning) is dubious.'1/

Now we move to the second meaning of function - that is planning as a political or state responsibility. If there is still some disagreement among countries on whether the government should interfere in economic affairs and plan for economic development, I think almost every country now accepts the principle of educational planning at any level as the responsibility of the state.

Since planning, and particularly educational planning, has come to be the responsibility of the political system or state, it will consciously and unconsciously reflect the characteristics of such a system or state. It will further reflect the degree of efficiency in the heart of the system or state and especially its bureaucracy or public administration. And here lies the major weakness of planning in developing countries. The problem of educational planning in developing countries is not whether the state in these countries assumes the responsibility of planning or not; it is rather the poor capability of the state - as expressed in its type of public administration - to carry out such responsibility. We shall deal with this point more fully later under the title of 'politics as the administrative framework of planning'. Suffice it to conclude here that, according to the estimation of a noted scholar, approximately 80 per cent of the plans of the world are incapable of being fulfilled because of administration.2/ And I would like to add that also because of administration, many plans are poorly formulated or designed.

3. Political Philosophy (Ideology or Utopia) as a Frame of Reference and Starting Point for Planning and Educational Planning

In their technical meanings, 'philosophy', 'ideology', and 'utopia'3/ are different terms, but I use them here as synonymous with each other since they appear so in current literature on the aspirations of different countries.

1/ Mason, op. cit., p. 38.

2/ Herbert C. Emmerich, Speech at the XIIIth International Congress of Administrative Sciences, Meeting of Representatives of Schools and Institutes of Public Administration, Paris, 21 July 1965, quoted in Peter W. Rodman, op. cit., p. 7; see also Katz, op. cit., pp. 1-3; O.E.C.D. Public Administration and Economic Development, Seminar held at Alcalâ de Henares, Sept. 1965 (Paris, 1966).

3/ 'Utopia' is used here in its sociological rather than fictional sense. It denotes consistent ideals aspired for by society. Reference should be made to Karl Mannheim's writings in this respect.

Politics as inputs in educational planning

Every society has an explicit or implicit, clear or ambiguous, detailed or general, realistic or idealistic, scientific or metaphysical, shortly-realized or far-reached, open-ended or closed vision of the future. It is this vision, which is usually proclaimed and uttered by political leaders, that is called here 'philosophy', 'ideology', or 'utopia'.

From my own point of view, the springboard for any wholesome planning (including educational planning) is and should be the social vision of the future. This changes drastically the meaning and direction of planning from a merely mathematical exercise mainly or even fully concerned with 'obtaining and analyzing statistics, and using them to make projections of future development, in particular estimates of human physical and financial resources needed to achieve proposed development' 1/, into a highly intellectual activity of, first, visualizing and analyzing a society's blueprint of the future (which reflects a social change for the better), and of, secondly, seeing how through education (if we are only educational planners) this society can move deliberately and rationally from its present state of being to what it is to be according to well identified stages and well calculated rates of speed.

Looking upon planning primarily as a philosophical task and from the angle of a vision of the future as a starting point might not appeal to, or be accepted by, many specialists in the field in Western countries. This is not only because 'visions' or 'blueprints' of the future are not favoured in their cultures or by the power elite, but also because their countries started planning after development; their present state of being 'internalizes', to a certain degree, their political aspirations, ideology or more accurately their utopia. Furthermore, their targets, techniques and models in planning spontaneously reflect this utopia without any need to dwell explicitly upon it, and any movement from the present into the future, as long as it is upward, is satisfying. But this is not the case in the developing countries. Here (in these countries) the present is dissatisfying and in many cases rejected; the life - or social systems - in these countries need comprehensive and deep reconstruction rather than incremental change or reform of the existing situation. Hence, a vision of the future is badly needed to pattern reconstruction after it, and planning becomes the means of transforming this vision into reality by deliberately, directly and rationally moving the present toward it through a calculated span of time.2/

1/ J.D. Chesswas, Methodologies of Educational Planning for Developing Countries (Unesco, International Institute for Educational Planning, 1968), Text I, p. 11.

2/ In 'Education in Former French Africa', Michel Debeauvais states that the specific task of education in emerging states is different from its role in industrialized nations: in the latter, progress in the economy and in society has preceded progress in education; whereas in new countries, educational systems must be geared to a future objective, to a society and an economy as yet unknown. It is therefore necessary to place the problem of education in the broader context of the type of society that it is intended to create. James S. Coleman, ed., Education and Political Development, Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1965, p. 77.

Also, when planning is viewed principally as a philosophical task that starts with conceptualizing and analyzing a social vision of the future, it might be rejected by some specialists in the field who are bigoted in favour of 'scientism' and desirous of 'objectivity' and 'technicality' of their work. But there is nothing more scientific than conceptualizing, clarifying, analyzing and interpreting a 'social vision'. A technical activity or task can by and large be delegated to a machine, but the analysis and interpretation of the 'social vision' can only be carried out by a highly intellectual human ability and it remains catchwords without a scientific approach. It is, moreover, if clearly stated, a guide to wise technicality and a guarantee of objectivity. As Myrdal stated:

> 'Efforts to run away from the valuations are misdirected and foredoomed to be fruitless and damaging. The valuations are with us, even when they are driven underground, and they guide our work. When kept implicit and unconscious they allow biases to enter. The only way in which we can strive for objectivity in theoretical analysis is to lift up the valuations into the full light, make them conscious and explicit, and permit them to determine the viewpoints, the approaches and the concepts used.1/

However, the above view concerning 'social vision' as a starting point in planning does not undermine or replace the arithmetic of planning and the task of obtaining and analyzing statistics related to the past and present, and using them to make projections of future development. It only subjects the present to the future, turns statistics and arithmetic from merely mathematical exercises, even when hidden under the vague term of development, into useful instruments for social engineering, cultural reconstruction, state building, and finally makes planning a set of wise major decisions. On the other hand, the analysis and diagnosis of the present into quantitative and other terms and making projections of future development according to the 'social vision' will help this vision to be more clarified, realistic and under continuous revision for further perfection.

It might appear to some that the social vision of the future as a starting point in planning means a preparation of a long or short statement to serve as a preamble to the plan without consequent implications in the plan itself. This has unfortunately been the case in plans that have been formulated in many developing countries during the last two decades. Accordingly, the social vision of the future has come to be part of rhetoric, instead of being a constructive element in, and even the cornerstone of, a plan. Such an understanding or practice in planning and educational planning, from my point of view, is damaging both to the 'vision' and to planning itself.

In taking the above standpoint my intention is to underline my view that the first task of the planner is to identify the vision of the future of his society as proclaimed by its political

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1/ Myrdal, op. cit., p. 33, see also the whole Prologue of Asian Drama.

leaders, then clarify, analyze and translate it in terms of objectives and targets, demands, characteristics of the education which he is planning for. It is only in this way that he can - and should - define the structure of the educational system, together with the major trends which it should follow in the future. Also through this vision alternatives can be suggested and priorities can be determined. Further, it is this vision that provides guidance in collecting data, developing indices and norms, and suggesting models. Again, this does not mean that the present should be left aside without accurate diagnosis and appraisal: both the present and the vision should be under investigation, and the distance between them should be calculated and divided into stages if needed. Without either (the present and the vision) the plan would be aimless, far-fetched or idealistic.

In brief, the social vision should be incorporated in the plan and be reflected in every decision, step and trend in it. And here we can say planning is in fact part of philosophy - political philosophy boiled down to a consistent set of decisions that direct action and bring about upward changes in society or part of it.

I would like to clarify the above by taking an item, or valuation, common to almost every vision in contemporary societies - that is the egalitarian principle. We all know that almost every country in the world is today reiterating equality as one of its ultimate principles underlying social change and reconstruction. But we also know that countries or groups of countries treat this principle in different ways. In Socialist countries, for example, the concept and practice of egalitarianism is different from that in capitalist or Western countries, and the third world of developing countries stands in between the two approaches. I think the first and major task of a planner, particularly in a developing country, is to seek clarity of this and other principles proclaimed by political leaders. And much more than that, he must through the presentation of the plan project contribute to making political leaders develop a clear idea of the principle itself. For, in many cases, these leaders only know the broad lines and they do not always know all the implications of the principles in life. Nor do they always know the obstacles and inhibitions that handicap the application of these principles.

In looking for clarity, the planner is not seeking 'mental pleasure', but he is tackling an important aspect of his job, which precedes the identification of the implications of such a principle in the plan and even in the planning process. Thus, an educational planner should ask himself when preparing the plan such questions as: What does equality mean, and what does equality of opportunity - as conceived in the context of equality as a whole - exactly mean in education? How do education provisions differ from one place to another and from one child to another according to inequitable socio-economic conditions, and other fortuitous factors in the country? How many children of the farmers and labour class - that form the majority of the population - are in schools? And how many of them continue their schooling? What steps should be taken in order to provide education for these children? And what type of education should be provided and for how long? Is there a unified public

educational system in the country? And, if not, what steps should be taken in order to compensate socially underprivileged children for their conditions? What are the procedures and techniques used in the selection and promotion of the enrolments and how do these procedures and techniques correspond or otherwise to the equality principle? What are the implications of equality in educational and technical guidance and in the curriculum of the schools? In response to the equality principle, where should new schools be established and what priorities in educational projects should be given? To what extent does the allocation of resources, particularly the financial resources, correspond to the egalitarian principles and what are the suggestions in this respect? What type of data and statistics should be collected in order to identify the present conditions in relation to the equality principle and what should be the targets for the future and how far? These and other questions should find an answer - or answers - by the educational planner. And these answers should be reflected in his plan. Otherwise, there will be no real equality nor wholesome plans.

Before leaving 'utopia' in planning, I would like to ask a question which links this subject with politics from another angle: Why do many governments in developing countries proclaim wonderful visions of the future for their societies while they have not seriously attempted to make their development plans a means for realising them? In other words, why do plans in many developing countries not reflect or cope with the social visions uttered by them?

The lack of know-how might be an answer. The visions might be too ambitious - up to the level of dreams sometimes - could be another answer. The world situation and the tensions and conflict of interests within it might be a third. But still here, there are two important factors which a planner should know. One is the power structure which reflects itself in the rule of a select group of upper-class citizens who use their political power to secure their privileged position and use the ambitious and progressive social vision as a smokescreen to hide their interests in these countries.

The second factor is people's actual valuations of related outworn traditions, beliefs, and attitudes which contradict the vision or at least represent a handicap to its realization through planning.1/

4. Public Demand for Education as a Determining Factor in Planning and Educational Planning

Perhaps the most important factor that influences the thought of planners, as well as of politicians almost everywhere, as far as educational planning is concerned, is public demand for education.

1/ Myrdal has dwelt upon these two factors in more than one place in his Asian Drama. He calls attention further to the fact that planners themselves are sometimes elements in the first factor and a power elite that exhibits its interests in the plan. See for example, pp. 756-770, 1881-1882.

This demand for education does not only determine, by and large, the strategy of educational planning, but it also makes planning a functional requisite in contemporary life.

During the last twenty-five years, public demand for education all over the world has become a more important policy factor and as a result of it there has been an extraordinary increase in school enrolments at all levels and in allocations for education.1/

I am not going to dwell on how public demand for education impinges upon the political system in every country and how it passes its 'boundary' and becomes an act, or set of acts, of 'interest articulation'. Suffice it to say that political leaders, parties and other political institutions respond positively to this demand for political reasons among which are: the recognition of educational development as a precondition for overall national development and modernization, the new stress on the democratic imperative of increased educational participation rates, and the reliance on schools as new means for political socialization (particularly in developing countries).2/

The politically destabilizing consequences of educational development due to strong public demand will be dealt with in another section under the output of educational plans. What concerns us here in relation to the inputs is that public demand for education, with the extraordinary growth of the youth population in developing countries, will continue to increase during the coming decades. Public education is consequently going to develop further, both horizontally to include a greater proportion of children at all levels, and vertically, to provide this proportion with longer periods of schooling. As Coombs vividly states, 'The process everywhere works like a series of flood-gates; when the first gate is opened the flood soon washes against the second, and so on until the whole system is inundated. The developing nations that are striving today to achieve universal primary education are unleashing a flood of popular demand that will soon engulf their secondary schools and universities'. 3/

If they want to be up to the standard of the challenge, the major task of educational planners is not to check or resist public demand for education because this demand is insurmountable and will impose itself in actuality whether the plan responds to it or not. Nor is it to take public demand ipso facto and indulge in traditional calculations of numbers of pupils, places and unit costs in order to gear the educational system numerically to this demand. Educational planners should, instead, exhibit their ingenuity by undertaking three responsibilities at least: (i) to harmonize and guide

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1/ See Philip H. Coombs, The World Educational Crisis: A Systems Analysis, London, New York, Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1968, pp. 18-63.

2/ For the last reason see Coleman, op. cit., p. 22.

3/ Philip H. Coombs 'Time for a Change in Strategy', in Qualitative Aspects of Educational Planning, edited by C.E. Beeby, Paris, Unesco IIEP, 1969, p. 20.

educational development - whatever it will be in terms of size - in wholesome directions in order to bring the best out of it, (ii) to plan for the reconstruction of the educational system so that its aims, structures, contents, methods, administration and relations become compatible with the wide needs of new generations and with the demands of the changing society in which the plan exists (and this requires the development of a new 'educational vision'), and (iii) to tap new resources for education and develop a new strategy for educational finance.

Many planners usually say that the degree of educational expansion and the amount of response to public demand for education is a political affair. And, in consequence, they wait for a political decision in this respect before they plan. This is - in my point of view - an escapist attitude. Educational planners should advise political leaders, show them how public demand for education is insurmountable, and provide them with better solutions for positively responding to it. Otherwise, they will be planners unable to produce wholesome plans.

5. The Intellectual Power Elite and Their Role in Educational Planning

A central concern in modern-day political science is the identification of power structure in society and the determination of who, in fact, governs. Many studies have been conducted in this respect and some of them conclude that 'knowledge and expertness' are one of the main sources of power and that those who own them have a big influence in decision-making.1/

In the developing countries, members of the intellectual elite form a significant power force not only because they - or some of them - hold political positions and key administrative jobs, but also because their knowledge and thought is held in high esteem by their societies, which, in fact, make frequent reference to them. It is this elite that adopted the planning ideal, and introduced its practices, and tried to radiate it among the masses in developing countries.

Yet it is the intellectual elite that is responsible, partly at least, for causing planning and educational planning to stumble. First of all, not all members of the intellectual elite support the concept of planning. Only those who consider themselves progressive or up to date are in favour of it; and in consequence, the intellectual elite forms two camps (if not a third that is in between) those who are in favour of planning and concerned with it, and those who are not. If one goes to a ministry of education in a developing country which has adopted planning, no difficulty will be found in distinguishing the 'new technocrats' who are dealing with planning from the 'old' who find this ideology and technique a menace to them; hence the hidden and explicit conflicts between the two.

1/ See for example Robert Dahl, Who Governs, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1961.

Secondly, the intellectual elite that supports planning often lacks the true understanding and techniques of planning. Some members of the elite have come to favour it not because of its importance in development and modernization but because it is the current mode and there is the possibility of personal benefit if they ride its tide. Because of this selfish motive, this type of power elite rarely encourages efficiency in planning or the preparation of other intellectuals to be effective planners.

Thirdly, some members of the intellectual elite equate planning with politics in the worst meaning of the word. They use it as a means to deceive the people and paint false pictures, or as a means to please their seniors, or to serve the interests of some pressure groups.

Fourthly, there is an intellectual elite which considers the techniques of planning some sort of 'priesthood', to be kept top-secret, and the techniques are therefore rarely transmitted to other groups or generations.

Fifthly, members of the intellectual elite who adopt planning as a principle and method for improving society are divided among themselves in regard to 'comprehensive planning'. While some members give it importance, others are against it (following the liberal tradition). There is also the large debate on issues such as: Which should lead - the economic plan or the educational plan? Who should plan for education - educationists or economists? How can an educational plan become an integral part of a comprehensive plan without absolutely subjecting education to merely economic needs?

From my own point of view, such a debate is bound up with the power motive among the elite groups. It is a debate that aims not only at coming to a wise decision concerning the above issues but also at shifting the power to decide on educational affairs from educationists to economists and perhaps also to other groups.

Finally, the intellectual elite which is responsible for devising and implementing plans in the developing countries is in the last analysis part of the social system and a product of the education that is to be reorganized and developed. Members are, to some extent at least, inhibited by the popular attitudes that constitute the obstacles of planning (such as 'subjectivity', irrationality, desire to take the short view, inaccuracy, etc.). They further have their own economic and social interests and beliefs and they consciously and unconsciously reflect them in their planning.1/

6. Political Leadership in Planning

If members of the intellectual elite - or some of them - are the advocates of planning in a country, it is the political leadership that incorporates it into the country's philosophy or ideology, and transforms it from a statement of words to a set of legitimate deeds. In consequence, one of the

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1/ Myrdal, op. cit., pp. 1881-82.

major responsibilities of the intellectual elite, particularly in developing countries, is to sell the idea of planning to political leaders, convince them of its necessity for substantial development, and dissipate their fears, misgivings and doubts.

Some political leaders in developing countries, it seems, are suspicious of planning, particularly if it is to be economic or 'comprehensive' planning. This is due to several reasons among which are the possible influence of the old outworn Western attitude toward planning and the identification of planning with Socialism or Communism.

Yet the role of political leaders in relation to planning is not merely to accept or commend it. It is further to commit themselves seriously to the cause of planning and support the formulated plans, and to live up to the standard of planning by subjecting the administrative machinery to drastic reform as well as changing their own way of looking at things and the political culture itself.

The political adoption of, and commitment to, planning - as an ideal and in practice - in a given country, means much more than enthusiasm of the political leader, or leaders, for it, even if this enthusiasm is sincere and honest. It means, above all, a rational attitude and a broad and objective outlook towards life and development, a reconstruction of government to cope with this attitude and outlook, the trust in people and their capability of participating in bringing about change, and the reinforcement of political parties or popular organizations and infra-structure institutions to make them effective organs in the formulation and implementation of the plans.

In this sense, planning is synonymous with politics, a plan is, in essence, a political programme 1/, and 'there is no effective substitute for strong political leadership' - as Mason stated it - if planning is to be a successful process.2/

It is pertinent at this point to define 'political leadership', identify its relationships with what we may call 'technical leadership', particularly in planning, and see how the two types interact.

Apart from 'functional' leaders, there are usually in every political system a number of 'status' leaders who can easily be identified due to the key positions they hold in that system. On the state or national level, for example, there is the President or Head of the state, the Prime Minister, the Ministers, the Chairmen of the Legislature and of the Committees within it, the Leaders of the Parties, and so on. At the local level, there are also junior leaders such as members

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1/ See page 20 above and Myrdal, op. cit., p. 1889.

2/ Mason, op. cit., p. 71. It is worth noting that Mason compared the Indian and Pakistani experience in planning in the nineteen-fifties, and put down the relative success of the former to several factors, the most important of which was political leadership.

of Parliament, the Mayors, the heads of Popular Organizations, etc. The degree of popularity of these leaders differs and undoubtedly influences their strength of leadership and their capability of turning plans into effective political programmes.

In modern states, and in states that are moving toward modernity, political leaders at the top level who show interest in planning preside over organizations for this purpose or delegate authority of planning to leaders below them. At any rate, they are without consultants in the field (i.e. technical leaders); and it is exceedingly hard to say that the decisions they, or their delegates, make are merely political decisions. Further, the ministers (or secretaries of state) are selected nowadays, by and large, from the technical cadre; and thus a minister is usually a technical as well as a political leader at his level. Even if he is not of a high technical calibre, he has under him technical authorities which he consults before making major decisions. The nature of planning, as a 'rational comprehensive activity', with many technical aspects, makes it incumbent on a political leader, at any level, to resort to the technical staff, around or below him, and draw heavily upon their knowledge, skills, and suggestions (if not decisions) in formulating and implementing the plans.

Some writers and professors of planning insist on drawing a line of demarcation between what they call political decisions and technical decisions, and relegate the work of the planners mainly and even exclusively to the latter. Political decisions are concerned with major issues and deal with value judgments, while technical decisions deal with relatively minor details and usually concentrate on the relationship or relationships involved in a 'model'.1/ According to this analysis such issues as the provision of education for the socially under-privileged or by ethnic groups or geographical considerations; the priority of the universalization of primary education; and the reduction or increase of allocations for education are examples, on the one hand, of matters of a political nature subject only to political decisions, at higher levels over and above the views and jurisdiction of the planner. But on the other hand, considerations such as the size of a school or class, the flow of students in schools, the standards of teachers, the criteria of school buildings and equipment, the relationship between input and output, the cost per pupil and its relation to effectiveness, the advantages of a TV educational programme, the teacher-student ratios - all these and similar issues are subject to technical decisions and fall squarely on the shoulders of the technical staffs or leaders.

1/ See for example, Harold A. Hovey, The Planning-Programming-Budgeting Approach to Government Decision-Making, New York, Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1968, p. 28.

From my point of view, such an analysis is an oversimplification of decision-making in planning that does not correspond to reality. Nor does it coincide with the wisdom of planning as a modern device for shaping scientifically the destiny of man and the future of society. Planning, in its dynamic state, is loaded at every stage and at every moment with both scientific appraisal and value judgments, and these two aspects cannot be separated.1/ A planner cannot limit himself to the so-called technical aspects and thus divorce his action from the making of value judgments. Also, anything a planner is concerned with, however small it appears, is part and parcel of a major (political) decision - if, in fact, it is not a major decision in its own right. A 'strong political leader' who is a crucial factor in determining the success of a plan is one who relies heavily on technical leaders, besides being supported widely by the people. Without this reliance, he would be merely a demagogue lagging far behind the demands of modernity.

7. Public Support and Participation in Planning

Leadership, as we know, is a function of two interacting elements, or poles: the person or group of persons who lead, and those who are led, in a given time and space. When dealing earlier with strong political leadership in planning, we alluded to public support as a source and criterion of this strength. It is of great importance to a planner to be aware of the type of political leadership that exists in his country, in terms of its relationship to the people. When committed to planning, political leaders usually favour - consciously and unconsciously - plans that are at least consistent with their interests and the interests of the groups to which they are related and with which they identify themselves. The more these groups are wide and popular, the more the plans are close to public demands and interests. And usually, the more the plans are close to public demands and interests, the more the people are willing to support them.2/

Although the Soviet experience in planning differs from Western experience or experiences; the two types agree on the importance of public support in the success of plans. In the former, the Communist Party, which is the guiding force in all state and public organizations, plays a major role; while in the latter, democratic (in the Western sense) machinery, agencies of self-government, and well-established infra-structure institutions take the lead or responsibility.3/

1/ The above conclusion is consistent with the previous analysis under the sub-title of political philosophy, ideology, or utopia in planning.

2/ It has to be noted that the word 'people' is sometimes misleading in that it includes groups of citizens with different interests and goals. And if a plan is to be a people's plan in some countries, it will be an expression of a compromise between different interests or of a sacrifice of some interests for the sake of the interests of powerful (or pressure) groups.

3/ Myrdal, op. cit., Asian Drama, Vol. II pp. 863-65; Sorokin, op. cit., pp. 56-57.

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Thus, the East and West are setting their models and the Third World has to make a choice between the two or develop its own methods of securing public support in planning. India is usually referred to as an example in the Third World, which embarked on the experience of planning as long ago as the early fifties and has since adopted the ideal 'that the plan should come from the people, meet their wishes and needs, and have their support in thought as well as deed'.1/ Although the Indian experience in planning has been considered a success compared to other attempts that did not or could not capitalize on public support and participation in the region 2/, it is difficult to say that the ideal has been realized and that planning has proved a real success in India. Several factors account for this result: the social structure and the gap between the ruling class and the masses; the poverty and ignorance of the majority of these masses and the remoteness of the elite from them; the lack of interest of the people in the plans and the reliance on 'voluntariness' in their participation; and the lack of effective popular organizations, particularly at the local and operational levels, which can be spearheads of participation and change.3/

If public support and participation is indispensable for successful planning, how can developing countries, with all their social and economic problems, like those faced in India, secure this support and participation?

The answer to this question is extremely difficult; but the key to the answer is by and large political; there should be a powerful political leadership seriously committed to the cause of the masses and their development; the plans should reflect the interests of the masses and should be political programmes subject to no compromises or 'soft' attitude on the part of the state; and the people, all the people, have to be well organized in order to be capable of being mobilized for the benefit of the plans. And here coercion rather than voluntariness should take place, at least in a transitional stage.

However, some writers in dealing with administration and politics, ignore or neglect the administrative process that takes place in different sub-systems within the political boundary other than Public Administration. They also relegate Public Administration to merely the executive functions or machinery of the government. And, further, they prefer to distinguish or discriminate between administration and politics, not only in terms of structure or system, but also in terms of

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1/ Myrdal, op. cit., p. 850.

2/ Ibid., pp. 851 cff.; Mason, op. cit., pp. 70 cff.

3/ Myrdal, op. cit., loc. cit.

decision-making. Such trends are attempts at theoretical analysis of the subject-matter and at defining the boundary of administration as a discipline. They do not reflect reality except in diametrically opposed or highly selective situations.1/

8. Politics, Administration and Planning

Any treatise on politics in planning would be seriously incomplete without any reference to administration. Every political system is in fact a 'politico-administrative' system; and it would be absurd to deal with politics without dealing with administration in politics and vice versa.2/

Administration is both a 'structure' and a 'process' in the political system (as well as in other societal systems). As a structure it represents itself mainly in what is called 'Public Administration', where inputs are by and large outputs of other sectors of the political system, whose functions and outputs affect the whole system and other related societal systems. At the same time,

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1/ Fred W. Riggs says: 'Political and administrative functions refer to some analytic characteristics of organized decision-making. Such decisions occur in two stages: first, the choice of a norm, value or goal, and second, the action or means required to implement it.... A group decision is political in so far as it involves a choice among competing values, but administrative in so far as it serves to implement a previously selected goal. But decisions are likely to have both administrative and political aspects, although one aspect may clearly predominate the other.

If a decision is viewed contextually, in terms of the responsibilities it is designed to fulfil, it is understood administratively. But if the same decision is viewed intrinsically, in terms of the value choices it entails, it is conceived of politically ...

In so far ... as any decision is oriented toward the implementation of a contextually prescribed goal, it involves an exercise of 'accountability'. In so far as it is oriented toward value choices, it involves an exercise of 'power'. The administrative aspect of a decision, then, involves accountability toward prescribed norms: the political aspect arises from a power struggle within the decision unit. In 'Administrative Development: An Elusive Concept', in Approaches to Development: Politics, Administration and Change, edited by John D. Montgomery and William J. Siffin, New York, McGraw Hill Co., 1966, pp. 228-29.

2/ William J. Siffin in Approaches to Development: Politics, Administration and Change, New York, McGraw Hill Co., 1966, page 4 states that: 'Studies of administration inspired by concern with development have shown ... that it is not possible to draw sharp lines between administration, politics and society itself when one gropes for answers to questions about 'nation building'.'

administration is the process of idea-institutionalization, decision-making and goal-attainment in every part of the political system (or other societal systems), whether it is in Public Administration, Legislature, Judicial System, or any other organ or structure. It is this process that gives the political system - in whole and in part - its movement and dynamism. It is also the process that shapes its character into traditional or modern; democratic or autocratic; efficient or corrupt.1/

Also, in dealing with administration and planning, some writers relegate the relations between the two to merely implementing the plans and carrying out decisions; and consequently they ignore an important phase in these relations - i.e. the making of decisions or in other words the administration of plan formulation.2/ A plan is usually defined as 'a major set of decisions', and it is these decisions - whether at the stage of formulation or implementation - that are the meeting point of politics, administration and planning.

It is of great importance to look comprehensively, integratively, and with penetration at politics, administration, and planning. Otherwise the 'model' which directs us in improving any of the three elements or systems will be 'formalistic' (i.e. will not represent reality and in consequence will be misleading).3/

In addition, it is of great importance to look at administration, in particular, in the model, not only as a major input in planning, but also as the sole means through which all the inputs are transformed into outputs - i.e. into major decisions and their implementation which yield development in society or one of its sectors. That is why administration is to be considered the ultimate factor of crucial importance in planning and development.

Hence, in the politics of planning, it is inevitable to turn to administration and seek its improvement or reform if a country is serious about planning and development. The case of Italy in this respect is worthy of review, as an example.

1/ It should also be noted that politics permeates administration and strongly influences it; see Maurice Duverger, 'The Influence of Political Factors' in Public Administration in Developing Countries, edited by Martin Kriesberg, Washington D.C., The Brookings Institution, 1965, pp. 7-17.

2/ As an example Guillermo Nannetti (Director, Advanced School of Public Administration, Columbia) says: 'Up to now we have given attention to planning for development, but very little to the administration of development. It is not enough to define a policy: it is also necessary to carry out decisions, to mobilize and direct the efforts of the community.' 'The Administration of Development in the Americas' in Public Administration in Developing Countries, edited by Martin Kriesberg, Washington D.C., The Brookings Institution, 1965, p. 2.

3/ See the concept of 'formalism' in Fred W. Riggs, Administration in Developing Countries: The Theory of Prismatic Society, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1964, pp. 15-18.

Italy seriously embarked on national economic planning in the early sixties (1962). It immediately realized that drastic reform and reorganization of Italian bureaucracy (public administration) was badly needed if effective planning was to be a viable reality. As diagnosed by a distinguished Italian specialist at that time, Italian bureaucracy was very late in coming to terms with its role in modern society; and it would be excessive optimism to claim that that bureaucracy was capable of handling the problems of development. Italian public administration had long focused on problems of control, giving or denying concessions, authorization, and tax collection. The lack of capability of handling problems of development was not merely a matter of low economic remuneration for the bureaucracy, it was mainly a problem of traditional structure, procedures, and bureaucrats, and of basic laws under which the bureaucracy operated.

As a result, a Minister for the Reform of Public Administration was appointed and a Commission was established in 1962 to study the situation and suggest reforms. Recommendations for remedy were made, the most important of which - as far as planning was concerned - were:

1. The creation of a new dynamic and entrepreneurial type of bureaucrat or public servant through schools of public administration and universities, and through radical changes in the educational system.
2. Recruiting adequate personnel by better procedures of selection, higher salaries, a dynamic merit system, and freedom from political interference in public administration.
3. Developing research and data collecting capabilities in the Italian bureaucracy.
4. The creation of new administrative structures essential to planning; and serious horizontal administrative co-ordination across ministerial lines.
5. Giving the regions of Italy a role in the planning process (at least in conducting research relevant to planning).
6. Liberating the legislature from backward and antiquated structures and methods, and providing it with committees staffed by well-paid experts who would devote themselves to research and legislative proposals concerning planning.1/

To what extent these - and other - recommendations have been carried out in Italy, since 1963, is beyond the capacity of the present writer to follow or assess. However, there is only one point to be mentioned: a bureaucracy 'with a structure of methods and procedures that date back a century to the Risorgimento' does not easily lend itself to change, unless there is a powerful political

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1/ Joseph La Polombara, Italy: The Politics of Planning, Syracuse, Syracuse University Press, 1966, pp. 106-121.

leadership capable of and persisting in change. Even in this case change might not occur rapidly and there is the possibility that as a transitional stage the 'new' displaces or superficially merges with the powerfully entrenched 'old' in the system, rather than replaces it.

This being the case of Italy, what is the situation in developing countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America?

It goes without saying that developing countries differ among themselves in their level of development and their administrative conditions. However, they generally face the same situations, and - as one writer stated it - they 'share in common most of the same administrative problems and obstacles'.1/

Developing countries, particularly after independence or during the last fifteen or twenty years, have - generally speaking - been keen about their progress, and many of them have adopted planning, in one way or another, as a means for achieving that progress. However, planning is something more than a means or technique; it is a new or modern 'function', and a new 'way' - based on 'rationality' - of looking at life and dealing with it in order to change it deliberately, rapidly, and comprehensively. Thus, if planning is to be taken seriously, and used successfully in developing countries, drastic changes commensurate with the demands of the 'new' function and way of looking at life and dealing with it, should occur in their administrative systems. And here lies the dilemma that developing countries face.

Developing countries, in general, have inherited from the past outworn and emaciated administrative systems. It is true that some of them have undergone change, but as Riggs describes it:

> '... the new ... administrative systems have displaced but not replaced the traditional systems ... If the administrative bureau model holds at the level of the national administrative service, does it hold with equal force at the level of the village council or panchayat? Even at the central or national level, one suspects that some residual practices held over from earlier days still affect in fundamental, if often subtle, ways the actual operation of new government institutions. Indeed, this mixture of old and new practices, of modern ideas superimposed upon traditional ones may be one of the distinguishing characteristics of 'transitional' societies.'2/

1/ Donald D. Stone, 'Government Machinery Necessary for Development', in Martin Kriesberg (ed.), Public Administration in Developing Countries, Washington D.C., The Brookings Institute, 1965, p. 53.

2/ Fred W. Riggs, Administration in Developing Countries, (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1964), p. 12.

Another writer states:

> 'Developing countries find themselves in an intermediate situation, which naturally puts them in a contradictory position from the point of view of public service. On the one hand force of habit urges them toward the spoils system and corruption; on the other hand, evolution toward modern forms progresses in a way favorable to a technical administration based on political independence and honesty.
> 'But the factor of evolution toward modern forms is diminished by the slight importance of the 'modern population' in comparison with the 'archaic population' (in these countries). '1/

In most developing countries where planning has been adopted, emphasis has been put on the economic and technical aspects, while administrative aspects have been badly neglected. Some countries have established new agencies to formulate plans and to carry out development projects whilst leaving the rest of the government to carry on traditional services.2/ In some cases the effect was the creation of two parallel governments, which led to a division of effort instead of mobilizing all departments and agencies for the cause of planning and development. In some other cases, the planning function was assigned to a regular ministry or department; and this put the planning staff in the awkward position of endeavouring to formulate plans which encompass the concerns of all peer ministries or departments.3/

If one looks into the situation further to identify the administrative process, rather than the organizational aspects of planning and to find out how plans are made - i.e.: how personnel is recruited for planning, how data are collected, how studies are conducted, how people work together for planning purposes, how communication flows, how co-ordination is horizontally sought, how local authorities and agencies are involved, how decisions are made, how programmes are financed, how individuals are assured security, and how work is guaranteed stability, how authority is delegated, how people are mobilized to support the plan, how plans are implemented and followed up - if one looks at all these, in many cases it will be no exaggeration to conclude that the 'new' function of planning is dominated by and large by 'old' means of administering; and here lies the major obstacle to planning itself.

1/ Maurice Duverger, op. cit., pp. 11, 12. It is worthy of note that Duverger defines in his article three types of public administration that represent three stages of development: (i) The primitive spoils system, based on political choice and the practice of corruption, (ii) the developed spoils system, based on political choice and honesty, (iii) the civil service system, based on technical choice and honesty.

2/ This trend appears obviously in the field of education where planning is looked upon in some countries as a function separate from administration and even parallel to it. Thus we find the traditional departments of the ministry of education existing without any serious change, and beside them stands the machinery, agency, or department of planning doing the job for them. Such dualism is destructive to the cause of planning and education.

3/ Donald Stone, op. cit., pp. 51, 60.

Politics as inputs in educational planning

A writer 1/ who visited a number of developing countries in Asia, the Middle East, and Africa, some years ago, collected from the field some empirical data concerning the common administrative obstacles that handicap planning and development. It is pertinent to recount them here:

- Government functions are dispersed among an excessive number of ministries, authorities, and agencies. This results in a diffusion of responsibility and authority, and in inadequate leadership within the government for policy formulation, planning, and implementation of programmes.
- The administrative organization created for the tasks of development is not given adequate political and public support.
- Adequate assessment of natural resources and manpower needs and availabilities is lacking. Plans and programmes are thus often unrealistic.
- The ministries and other operating agencies do not participate sufficiently in the formulation of plans, and they do not understand how planning can be of help to them in carrying out their functions.
- The various departments and agencies do not have sufficient competence to develop solid plans and projects for their sector and to carry them out on schedule or within the cost estimates. Projects are generally vague; schedules do not make specific provision for all manpower, equipment, and materials required; financial arrangements are not fully worked out, and projects are not tested as to administrative feasibility or economic viability.
- Co-ordination is lacking among departments and institutions that must play a role in the planning and execution of projects. For example, sufficient funds may not be budgeted or allocated to carry out a project, the personnel required may not be authorized, needed loan funds may not be available, foreign exchange requisite for the importation of equipment or materials may be denied, materials may be delayed at customs for an inordinate period, and other administrative breakdowns may stop or seriously impair the project.
- There is generally a lack of co-ordination among the departments of the central government in relation to the projects and services conducted in the various geographical districts into which the countries are divided. Highways are not planned in relation to industrial undertakings. An extensive agricultural programme may entail problems of marketing which require storage, transport and other facilities, but the departments concerned with each of these activities fail to work out their plans in relation to one another.
- The districts, provinces, cities, and other local governments are not consulted in the formulation of development plans and operations. Neither are they given sufficient operational authority, tax powers, or an opportunity to organize undertakings that would enable them to make a maximum contribution to development.

1/ Donald Stone, op. cit., pp. 56-58.

- The headquarters offices of ministers and other agencies resist the delegation of responsibilities and authority to field offices. Everywhere a great mass of detailed transactions are forwarded to central offices in national capitals for needless review with consequent delays and loss of efficiency.
- The central organs required to develop effective planning, budgeting, personnel, administrative management, and other administrative operations are lacking or are dispersed or are inadequate. The chief executive of the country is seldom in a position to provide leadership, initiative, and co-ordination of development programmes - for lack of staff resources.
- There is insufficient central follow-up and expediting in the execution of development undertakings. In only a handful of countries has there been established a staff with responsibility to maintain surveillance over the implementation of projects, to identify bottlenecks and other difficulties and see that they are remedied, and to assure that approved projects, programmes, and activities are indeed carried out.
- Many financial resources are not covered by the budget system, so that it is a weak instrument in the implementation of development programmes. Inadequate tax systems and tax collection impair confidence in the country's development efforts, resulting in a reduction of available funds.

In conclusion, the primary obstacle to planning is administration; without good administration planning will not be correctly 'institutionalized' in developing countries. Developing countries do not need mere additions or omissions in their administrative systems in order to be good or efficient. Drastic changes are badly needed. That is why some people are calling for 'the administrative revolution'. But how can these drastic changes or revolutions in administrative systems occur in developing countries?

Again, this is a very difficult question to answer, but the key to it is political. There should be a powerful political leadership committed to development and insisting on serious administrative change. There should be a plan for administrative change, not only dealing with the manpower aspects of administration 1/ but also and above all with the nature of the administrative process. There should be trust in technical leaders and in the people's capacity because nothing will bring about change except technical capabilities and the organized mobilization of the people for development.

1/ It is pertinent to indicate here that Arthur Lewis recommends that the first three plans in a developing country should be mainly concerned with meeting the needs of the administrative machinery for improvement. Op. cit., pp. 20, 21.

9. Politics and the Legal Aspects of Planning

One of the striking features in contemporary times is the transmutation of planning from a neglected, and sometimes an illegal notion or trend, lying outside the boundaries of many political systems, into a legitimate ideology and practice of strategic position within them. Until very recently, planning, particularly in its comprehensive sense, was identified with Socialism and Communism; and in consequence, many countries were reluctant or antagonistic. Now, the reverse has occurred, and almost every country in our age considers it an indispensable instrument for directing and speeding up its social and economic change along modern lines.

Developing countries, in particular, are attaching great importance to planning in their gradual modernization; and probably they are expecting out of it much more than it could provide, in its existing state.

In fact, the politics of developing countries, generally speaking, have opened, sometimes all of a sudden, the legal doors wide to planning. Laws and edicts have been enacted to secure its institutionalization and organization, planning bodies within the traditional bureaucracies have been created and given prestige and authority to plan, and, further, strong statements concerning commitment to it in policy-making have, in some cases, been introduced into constitutions. Yet, all these measures that deal with the legal aspects provide only a guarantee to 'structural' planning, and what these countries badly need is, after all, 'operational' planning.

Parallel with the above measures, there run among the intellectuals and some specialists of planning, heated discussions on how a plan is - and is to be - made, from a legal point of view. And here many questions arise, such as: who decides, and who has de facto the power to decide? Where does or should authority reside, and at what level? Should planning be centralized or decentralized? What is the role of local authorities, and what is that of the central body in planning? Where does the role of a specialist in planning and educational planning end, and where that of the politician start? What is the jurisdiction of the executive and that of the legislature in planning? What steps does the formulation of a plan take and through what channels does or should it proceed? How is a plan authorized ...?

Such questions or issues - which are questions on politics of planning - are undoubtedly of importance in planning and educational planning. However, they are not the heart of the planning problem in developing, or even in developed, countries. Planning, as previously stated, is a function of the political system in which it exists or develops, and thus it cannot rise above the nature and qualifications of this sytem. If the political system is an expression of the interests of a given pressure group or a coalition of pressure groups, planning, in terms of objectives and decision, will follow the same path and rarely avoid it. If the political system favours centralization and tends to put all authority in the hands of a few at the top level, planning cannot but be subject to the same rule. If the legislature is a real power, and even the highest authority in the State, planning will be its

major responsibility and the executive will be an obedient servant to its will ... In other words, the answers to the above questions are, at the moment, self-evident and need no hair-splitting, since the frame of reference is the nature of the political system in which planning exists.

What, then, is the big problem beside which the above questions appear side-issues in planning, as far as we are concerned with its legal aspects?

The big problem, as I see it, is still: how a plan is made, not in terms of the traditional legal aspects, but with new politics which represent the true legitimacy of planning. Planning is not a veneer which traditional political systems legally seek or adopt to hide their nature behind. Rather, it is a new way of politics - the art of 'governing the people' and of 'legitimate policy decisions'. Instead of lobbying, manoeuvring and bargaining, planning is a straightforward and direct treatment of reality; instead of selfishness, prejudices, and mere concern with the limited interests of a pressure group or a number of pressure groups, it is a wide outlook for the social welfare of the whole society or the biggest section of it; instead of short-sightedness and mere attention to accidental problems, it is a science of controlling and determining the future of a country; instead of an atomistic or hit-or-miss approach toward life situations, it is a deliberate and reflective thinking in them; and instead of subjectivity in decision-making, it is the reliance on facts and on the scientific method in this respect. In brief, planning - operational planning - is the new politics of modern times, and here developing countries, the politics of developing countries, must reshape their structures and natures according to real planning with its scientific nature.1/

10. Politics and the Financing of Educational Plans

Planning is the art, or science, of rational and consistent decision-making concerning the mobilization, allocation and utilization of scarce resources, particularly financial resources, so as to get the best out of them in terms of development and according to well-defined targets. At the heart of any decision concerning a plan there is finance. A plan is, in the last analysis, a financial plan extending purposefully on a span of time and directed to the realization of well-defined programmes and clear-cut projects.

A plan can be a tool for counterfeited political propaganda as well as an instrument for serious social and economic change. It is finance, with the fiscal effort related to it, that is the main ingredient in making the plan operate in the desired way. And behind the financing of plans there is always politics.

1/ Reference has been made earlier to Joseph La Polombara's study on The Politics of Planning in Italy and how this study shows the importance of 'scientifying' the bureaucracy and the parliament if planning is to be a success. See pages 48-49 above.

Politics as inputs in educational planning

As politics is part of the science of economics (or a reflection of it), it has a direct and important role to play in the financing of educational plans. This appears in every step in the planning process and the decisions included in it. First of all, there is the major decision concerning how much should be allocated to education compared to the other sectors of production and/or services in which the State (at any level) is concerned or responsible. It is well known that every country, however rich it is, has limited or scarce financial resources compared to its wide aspirations and goals of development. In consequence, priorities among programmes and projects should be made, and education, like all other sectors, is usually subject to a test of preference. Since no golden rule or objective criteria for preference exist, it is politics that makes itself the arbiter and, relying on its ideology or experience and influenced by the pressures on it, it decides the share of available resources to be devoted to education and the rank of the educational plan in the overall plan of the country.

After determining the share for education in toto, politics continues playing its role in financing individual educational plans. As is known, education - mainly represented in formal education - is divided into levels and types, and decisions should be made concerning the share of each level or type of the allotted resources: How much should go to primary education, and how much should go to secondary and higher? How much to technical and how much to academic or general? How much should go to adult education and programmes of eradicating illiteracy? These and other questions have no final or standardized answer, and since educational financial resources are limited and even scarce compared to popular demand and the requirements of educational standards, politics becomes the arbiter, to a great extent, in determining the share for each type.

Also, politics influences the financing of education in such other details as salaries of teachers and capital outlay: How much should go to personnel in the educational system and how much should go to other teaching services? How much should go to auxiliary or social services? How much should go to equipment and school buildings? These and other questions are, to a great extent, determined by politics. And it is politics that, in the majority of cases, sacrifices the qualitative targets of the educational plan or some important building and equipment programmes in order to satisfy the demands of some pressure groups either within or outside the educational system.

Furthermore, it is politics that determines the strategy of financing education: How should education and educational plans be financed? What are the sources at each level? What new sources should be sought or tapped? Should a tax be specifically earmarked for education, who is going to pay, and how much? Should private initiative be encouraged to finance education? What is the role of parents in financing education, should they be involved in the educational expenditure for their

children, and how? 1/ These and similar questions are political rather than economic and it is politics that has the last say in deciding them.

Closely related to the above issues concerning the strategy of financing education is foreign aid. Most developing countries seek foreign aid, whether bilateral or multilateral, for the purpose of educational development as well as for other purposes. Politics - and here it is the politics of the donor and of the recipient country - is the sine qua non in determining this aid. It is also politics that makes this aid ineffective and even an obstacle in the implementation of educational plans.2/

Finally, it is politics that can stimulate and mobilize public effort to finance education and educational plans up to the desirable 'financial capacity' of a country. Such a stimulation and mobilization is badly needed in developing countries where public demand for education and for its improvement is much higher than the state - with its treasury - can afford. Public support for education and educational plans does not mean mere participation in policy making or in school administration, or merely welcoming and blessing new educational plans. It means first and foremost their serious contribution - according to their financial capabilities (or substitutes for financial capabilities, e.g. labour) - in financing ambitious educational plans. Voluntary action on the part of the public might be of some use or help, yet it is not enough. Public effort in financing education - and educational plans - should be mobilized and organized as a political activity at both the local and national level, otherwise educational plans will always be short of fulfilling public demand and bringing about serious change in education.3/

The above analysis shows how politics permeates the financing of education in terms of content and process. An educational planner should know about the politics of financing education as well as about its economics. He should be quite aware of questions such as: What type of political system? What is its political philosophy, and what is the place of education in it? Whom does this political

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1/ It might be of interest to refer to an emerging call in some countries that a state should not directly administer the expenditure on education. Parents, instead, should be the mediators between the state and teachers, and through their contact with schools the quality of education is improved or guaranteed. See E.G. West, Economics, Education and the Politician, London, The Institute of Economic Affairs, 1968.

2/ The Tanzanian Five-Year Educational Plan (1964-69), its preparation and implementation, can be referred to as an example. See A.C. Mwingira and Simon Pratt, The Process of Educational Planning in Tanzania in IIEP African Research Studies, Educational Development in Africa, Vol. I (Paris, 1969) pp. 109-192; J.B. Knight, The Costing and Financing of Educational Development in Tanzania in Educational Development in Africa, Vol. II, p. 21.

3/ It might be of interest to refer to the new experiment of Yugoslavia in this respect. See Milan Uzelac, The System of Financing Education in Yugoslavia, Beograd, Medunarodna Politica, 1968.

system represent and what pressure groups are influencing or dominating it? What pressure groups within education itself are going to influence the government in its decisions concerning the finance of education? To what extent is foreign aid available, how can it be secured, who or what is behind it, and to what purposes could it be directed? Is it politically feasible to tap new sources for financing education, and what are these sources? Is it politically feasible to assure the right of the people at all levels to participate in the administration and expenditure on education? How can public financial support for education be a political activity and to what extent is it possible? ... etc.

In brief, the educational planner should be well acquainted and concerned with the political feasibility of educational finance, no less than with the financial feasibility, in a narrow economic sense, of plans.

11. Politics and the 'Qualitative' Dimension in Education and Educational Planning

Since the early thirties of this century, and perhaps earlier, the quality of education has become an important subject of study and research in some countries, particularly in the U.S.A.. Efforts have been directed to identify its nature, define the direct and indirect forces that determine it, and, further, to formulate some instruments for its measurement.

With the development of educational planning, and after more than a decade of commitment to 'the expansionist strategy of educational development' in many countries (developing in particular), a call for a new strategy has recently emerged, and more attention for the qualitative aspects of education and educational planning is seriously being requested.1/

Reference has been made earlier 2/ to the fact that the educational system is a cell in the politico-socio-economic organism (i.e. community or society) and that the system, in consequence, derives its characteristics or quality from the organism. The question now is: how can politics, as an input to educational planning, determine these characteristics or the quality of education?

Some people seem to be dominated by Aristotlian 'either ... or' type of thinking. Besides looking at the 'political' as versus the 'technical', they consider quality as separate, or absolutely separate, from quantity in education. Their conclusion, in the light of this logic is that politics - or the politician - usually deals with the quantitative, not the qualitative, aspect of education. It - or he - directly decides questions such as: Who should go to school? How many? For how long? And

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1/ This request has been voiced in recent international meetings among which was the IIEP symposium on 'the qualitative aspects of educational planning' in 1966. One of the fruits of this symposium was a book carrying the same title.

2/ See p. 14 above.

how much money should be allocated for education? Questions on quality because of their 'technical' nature are either ignored or delegated by politicians to educational specialists and experts.

Such a view on the relation between politics and education, with its qualitative and quantitative aspects, turns educational planning into a poor activity and relegates the work of the planner to that of a poor craftsman. The educational plan will be dominated by the so-called quantitative targets, which are considered the major political concern or goal. Qualitative targets - if there were any - will be looked upon separately and either kept in a secondary place or left to a subsequent stage; and in many cases allocations for these targets are to be considered as a reserve to be drawn upon in case any difficulty concerning the realization of the 'quantitative' aspects in the plan arises. The planner has to use his mathematical skill in projecting figures and balancing them in order to realize on paper the quantitative targets proclaimed by politics. The end result is not only poor planning or plans but also poor education through planning; thus, we come to a conclusion concerning quality.

The assumption that politics is mainly or absolutely concerned with quantity in education implies an involvement, in one way or another, in quality. Quantity and quality in education are so interconnected that it is impossible to deal with one without consideration of the other. Every quantity in education has a quality, and further, a quality in itself. Moreover, every quality can only exist in quantitative terms (a school, a class, a child ... etc.), and can only be exhibited to a greater or less degree, in quantitative terms. With this conceptualization of the two dimensions of education in mind, it would be better to draw upon the experience of reality to see how politics determines the quality of education in different countries.

The world of today can be generally divided into three major groups or categories in terms of educational quality and its relation to politics. These groups or categories are as follows:

1. Countries which are 'developed' or highly developed, which have already defined their ideologies and built their economies on modern bases, which have fulfilled the ideal of an 'educated society' and secondary education for all, and which are moving now toward wider opportunities in higher education. These countries are mainly concerned with education from its qualitative dimension or angle. Politicians in these countries consider education as powerful instruments in securing or realizing social, economic, and political superiority, and it is the quality of education that makes it powerful.

The direct and major concern of politics with the quality of education in this category of countries reflects itself not only in relatively high costs per student, better teacher qualifications, up-to-date curricula and textbooks, good standards in school buildings and equipment, more effective educational administration and supervision, and external matching to society and its needs; it also expresses itself in educational research and innovations which are developing substantially in some countries (like the U.S.A.), thus announcing a new era in education.

2. Countries which are below the previous category in terms of economic development and modernity, but have passed the 'take off' stage. They have realized reasonable targets of educational opportunities, particularly in compulsory education which extends to no less than eight years, but still they have to do much more in terms of the length and breadth of that education. Since they regard equality of educational opportunities as nothing less than equality of good educational opportunities, they insist, within their capabilities, on not losing sight of quality when considering the quantity of education. In consequence, they commit themselves in their educational plans to 'norms', particularly in the costing of education.1/ Thus politics in this group of countries does not separate quantity from quality in dealing with education.

3. Newly independent countries which have inherited a heavy burden from the past, and which have been striving since their political independence to achieve development, but still are at the threshold of the 'take off' and even below that stage. Their economic growth does not generally coincide with their population rate of growth, and the economic base is already so low that any incremental change appears of almost no significance. Illiteracy in these countries is very high, and the goal of primary education for all is still far from being realized. During the last decade or two, politicians in these countries - under the pressure of popular demand for education, ambitious national aspirations, and sometimes humanitarian and/or economic principles (such as equality of educational opportunity and the fulfilment of manpower needs) - have adopted the policy of expanding education without due consideration to, or the capability of, improving or even maintaining, its quality. The result was a big 'inflation' in the quantity at the expense of quality, 'until, in many cases', as Philip H. Coombs has eloquently stated it, 'education became a caricature of itself and a travesty'.2/ That is why voices have been recently raised calling for a new strategy of 'more attention to the qualitative aspects of educational planning'.

In response to the new call or strategy of 'attention to quality', some developing countries have tried to commit themselves to some 'norms' in their educational plans and/or to introduce piecemeal innovations in their educational structures. However, these measures, as far as I see them, will lead only to partial or superficial solutions, for one simple reason - that is, they begin with the end rather than starting from the beginning. The ultimate criterion, or the core, of quality

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1/ See as an example the case of Hungary. Lajos Faluvégi, 'The Planning of Budgetary Expenditure on Education on the Basis of a Mathematical Model - The Method Employed in Hungary', in Institut International de Finances Publiques, Public Finance and Education, IIFP, York/Paris/ Saarbrücken, 1965, pp. 206-229.

2/ Philip H. Coombs, 'Time for a Change of Strategy', in Qualitative Aspects of Educational Planning, edited by C.E. Beeby, Paris, Unesco: IIEP, 1969, p. 20.

in education is its 'adaptability' or in other words its ability to change, internally and externally, according to changes in aspirations, needs, and potentialities of the society in which it exists.1/

If we examine the existing educational systems in developing countries, we find most of them, generally speaking, are a continuation and reproduction of prototypes that might have been functional in the past, but are now - in terms of design, content, structure, and operation - lagging far behind the new demands and goals of the present stage of development. What is badly needed then is not to subject those educational systems in their expansion to some norms (which are usually derived from past experience or international standards), or to introduce in them some innovations (which are usually an imitation of some practices in other countries with different circumstances and level of development). Rather, it is to put them under national severe criticism and start reconstructing them according to a new vision or outlook (which in that case would be the long-range target of educational plans) and by accessible means (and this would be planning of means for realizing educational vision). This is the major challenge to educational planners if they are to be really concerned with the qualitative aspects of education and if they are to formulate good educational plans.

In this respect politics (other than the politics of the educational planner) can play the most important role in improving (and more accurately, in re-creating) the quality of education. Besides its tactics in calling for criticism and in carrying out measures for reconstruction, it has to provide a clear political utopia or vision from which the new educational vision develops. Educational visions or conceptual designs do not emanate from space; they are usually a translation of the political vision into educational ends and means which if subscribed to will contribute to the creation of the new man and the new society which a developing country aspires to create. That is why it is not an exaggeration to say that the quality of education starts with politics and ends with politics.

12. World Politics and Educational Planning

Before closing this chapter on politics as inputs in educational planning, a word should be said on the international setting. The world of today is so closely interconnected and interrelated that it is absurd to deal with any political system without reference to the regional and international setting in which it exists. In some cases, a political system is influenced (and even determined) by external factors in that setting much more than it is influenced by internal factors.

1/ For further clarity on this point see Donald H. Ross, ed., Administration for Adaptability, New York, Metropolitan School Study Council, 1957.

Politics as inputs in educational planning

I am not going to - nor could I - deal with world politics in detail. Suffice it here to consider the major factors that dominate the international scene today and seem to have the biggest influence on planning. These factors can be summarized as follows:

1. The conflict between East and West, with its resulting division of the world into two main opposite camps, in stimulating the armaments race 1/, in putting humanity at the brink of a great war of annihilation, and in creating an atmosphere of unrest, distrust, instability, and tension almost everywhere.

Within this context developing countries, in particular, do not find planning easy. Besides their confusion and perplexity concerning which type of planning to follow or adapt (that of the East or those of the West), the East-West conflict is reflected in their life. Instead of having substantial assistance and help from outside in planning their development, they are invited, directly and indirectly, to be partners in the conflict, and their economies are left to suffer from balance-of-payment deficits and uncontrollable sharp rise of prices. Both factors have a serious negative effect on planning.

2. The regional wars which arise from unwholesome political situations, nourished as well by the conflict between East and West. These regional wars drain the resources of the countries directly involved in them, and have, also, negative effects on development projects of countries in the region (and sometimes countries outside it).

3. The wide social and economic gulf that separates the developing countries, which constitute the majority of the world community, and the developed countries. This gulf roughly divides the world into North and South (the latter including Latin America, Africa, and most of South and South-East Asia), and - in the long run - threatens the world with disastrous effects - perhaps more serious than those of the gulf between East and West.

Wealth and population are maldistributed between the developed and developing countries. Developed countries which are relatively few, comprise only one-third of the total population of the world community, but they have 87.5 per cent of its gross national product. On the other side of the picture are the developing countries that exceed 100 in number, comprise two-thirds of the total population in the world, and their total gross national product is only 12.5 per cent of the world's total gross national product.2/ Unfortunately, in general, the wide disparity between the two sets of

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1/ It is worthy of note that the world now spends 40 per cent more on armaments than it does on public education ($159,000 M. for military budgets and only $111,000 M. for education).

2/ Lester Pearson, Partners in Development: Report of the Commission of International Development, New York, Praeger Publishers, 1969, p. 23.

countries is increasing rather than decreasing and this undoubtedly leads to an aggravation of world tension.1/

Having a heavy population burden (that increases at a high rate) and a very low gross national product 2/ (based by and large on traditional structures of production), most developing countries find it difficult to develop, even through planning, with the tempo commensurate with their aspirations and the demands of the age.3/ Not only do they lack the sound economic base, but they also lack science and technology, which are major generators of development. That is why foreign aid, in terms of financial and technical assistance, seems indispensable. However, this aid is not usually without strings; further, it is very small and threatened by possible decreases.4/ Even if it is increased and redirected,5/ it will not solve the problem of developing countries in their struggle to develop. It is merely an aid.

The real and main solution lies in the establishment of strong political systems that serve as anchor bases from which to grapple with change, the reconstruction of educational systems according to new visions and accessible resources; the development of new fundamental concepts of how educational and economic development intertwine in the absence of a strong foundation in both education and economy; and after all (and above all) an honest change in international relations from conflict, antagonism, and exploitation to peace, justice, fraternity, and fruitful co-operation.

1/ In the year 2000, per capita income in the U.S.A. is expected to be approximately $10,000, while in India it is expected to be $200. Robert S. McNamara, Address to the Columbia University Conference on International Economic Development, New York, February 20, 1970, p. 8.

2/ In 1965, the total gross national product of developing countries, with a total population of 1,481 million was estimated at 228.3 billion U.S. dollars.

3/ According to Unesco estimates on the occasion of the International Education Year, developed countries spend an average of $100 per capita per year for education, developing countries only afford an average of $5.

4/ According to Pearson (op. cit., p. 3) almost U.S. $8 billion (in public and private resources) or nearly 1 per cent of gross national product of the high-income, non-Communist countries, were flowing to low-income nations in 1961. In 1968, the total amount was $12.8 billion. There were also additional transfers from the Soviet Union and other Communist countries.

5/ Ibid., pp. 18-21.

4. The Role of International Organizations in International Co-operation, Peace, and Development

International organizations are the positive factor in the international scene in favour of planning. Not only do these organizations - as represented in the United Nations with its branches and organs - play a role in creating international co-operation and peace which are the right atmosphere for planning, but they also contribute directly to the development of planning and educational planning, particularly in developing countries. It is these organizations that made the notion of planning world-wide and stimulated many countries to adopt it as a principle and a technique for development, particularly in education, during the last decade. Also it is these organizations that initiated the idea of First Development Decade, and are now launching the Second Development Decade with the notion of planning implied in the two of them. It is also these organizations - and I here refer to Unesco in particular - that found out that the call for planning would be ineffective and would merely pay lip service unless a contribution is made in the provision of qualified personnel, techniques, and even in field services; and in consequence conferences have been held to clarify planning concepts and techniques, and most important of all, international and regional institutes and centres for educational planning were established.

With all these and other good efforts to develop planning, the role of international organizations, however, should not be over-estimated or exaggerated. Planning is only an instrument in the hands of political systems to achieve development. And an instrument, in terms of its output, cannot go far beyond what it already has been provided by political systems within their international context.

IV. POLITICS AS OUTPUTS OF EDUCATIONAL PLANNING, OR THE ROLE OF EDUCATIONAL PLANNING IN POLITICS

In the previous chapter, an attempt was made to figure out the major political inputs in planning and educational planning. In addition to the political matrix which determines, directly or indirectly, the nature of education and educational planning in society, eleven factors were identified. Since this paper is devoted to politics in educational planning, it seems reasonable to conclude it at this point. However, it is preferable to close with a consideration of the political output of educational planning since inputs and outputs are closely interrelated and, further, outputs become inputs in subsequent plans.

It is a commonplace that education in modern times has become an instrument in the hands of the state for achieving political goals. Even the schools which are not under the direct control of the state are subject to its supervision and guidance in order to serve that purpose or at least not contradict it. Although all states nowadays agree that education is an instrument for achieving political goals, they do not agree on what these goals are, due to differences among them in the nature of the political systems and the stage of development.1/

At any rate a distinction should be made between political goals and political outputs of education. The former are aspired outputs which may or may not be realized, while the latter are actual consequences or outcomes. A perfect educational system is one whose outputs correspond to its goals (assuming that these goals in their turn correspond to social demands and aspirations). But this rarely happens and as long as the difference between the two is small it is accepted as normal. The problem arises when outputs of education deviate sharply from its goals and sometimes contradict them. Instead of turning out a good citizen (which is a goal), education might, for example, turn out a very poor type of citizen. This brings education to a state of unwholesomeness - a state which calls for serious attention from educational planners.

When education results in political outcomes or outputs that negatively influence political development (or, in other words, contradict political goals), they are called 'politically destabilizing' or 'dysfunctional'. Coleman summarizes some politically destabilizing consequences of educational development in some developing countries as follows:

1/ In a Socialist or Communist country, the political goals of education differ from those in a capitalist country, and political goals of education in a developed country differ also from those in a developing country.

1. The frustrated elite aspirants victimized by the progressive devaluation of education.
2. The anomic potential of the unemployed primary school leavers and the revolutionary threat posed in situations where they politically coalesce with disaffected intellectuals.
3. The conflicts and tensions within and among elites and among ethnic groups, resulting from different kinds and amounts of education.1/

The question now is: Why do political consequences or outputs deviate from political goals or aspirations in education, in some if not in many cases?

The answer (or more accurately, the major part of the answer, because society has to be directly involved also) is because inputs in such an education are not compatible or commensurate with goals; and the more the inputs are incompatible, the more the outputs are further from the prescribed goals.

The same rule applies to planning and educational planning. Planning, whether partial or comprehensive, has been enthusiastically adopted by many countries for ambitious goals and wide aspirations. Among these goals and aspirations are: (1) The fulfilment of independence; (2) The realization of national consolidation; (3) The achievement of social equality; (4) The straightforward and rapid movement toward modernization; (5) The improvement of public administration (as a concomitant result of the adoption of planning); (6) Arrival at the right educational 'mix' and the balance between educational outputs and economic needs; (7) Increasing productivity and achieving higher standards of living; and (8) the containment or control of politically destabilizing consequences and correction of maladjusted institutions.

These, and others are, in general, the political goals of planning in developing countries. But what are the actual political outputs?

The answer is determined by the political inputs in planning, most of which have been discussed in the previous chapter: in what political matrix does planning in this or that country operate? What type of political system exists? What political philosophy or utopia is honestly adhered to? What popular demand and what intellectual elite exist? What type of political leadership and what is its attitude toward planning? What public support and participation is directed to it? What is the nature of public administration and how are problems dealt with scientifically and rationally? What politics of finance? What political strategy towards quality of education? And what political factors dominate the international scene?

It is a truism that good inputs lead to good outputs and poor inputs lead to poor outputs. Planning, per se, does not yield desired or desirable political goals. It is not in itself a panacea for political weaknesses. Planning as an instrument or as a means, is a dependent variable: the independent variable that determines its success or failure in achieving desirable political and other goals - i.e. desirable outputs - is politics. Thus we end where we started.

1/ Coleman, op. cit., p. 523.

However, planning as a process has an intrinsic value that contributes to wholesome political development, irrespective of the nature of the political system in which it exists or by which it is determined. Through the continuous process of planning, a country - at least through its intellectual elite - consciously looks at itself - either partially or totally. It can thus identify its strengths and weaknesses, define its direction, and evaluate its movements in the course of history. This type of rational thinking through planning paves the way for setting the country right on the road to progress and modernity. And it is here that 'planning' can be considered an asset for, or a 'residual factor' in political development.

V. CONCLUSION

As already stated, this paper is only an introduction to politics in educational planning, focussed mainly on developing countries. Its purpose has been to draw more attention to politics in educational planning on the part of planners and research workers in the field. It has also called for new politics in planning - the politics of rationality and scientific thinking.

Throughout the paper some views or arguments were presented reflecting the writer's strategy in looking at planning and educational planning. Among these views or arguments are: the need for estimating the 'political feasibility' of planning and plans on the part of the planner; planning as a 'function' - in the scientific sense - of the modern - particularly the Socialist state - and the consequent reservations that should be made when dealing with planning in a non-modern state; the political philosophy or the social vision adopted by the political system as the springboard for planning, and the educational vision emanating from that philosophy as the long-range target of plans; public demand for education as an insurmountable tide and the new roles of planners in meeting this demand; the need for both strong political leadership and organized public support and participation in planning; the politico-technical nature of decisions in educational planning rather than the dualism of decisions into political and technical; the identity of politics and administration in one politico-administrative system, and the identity of administration (as a process) and planning in what may be called 'planning in operation', both in formulation and implementation; quality of education as a function of both political strategy and tactics, the important role of world politics in national planning, and planning as a 'residual factor' that intrinsically accounts for some political development.

The above and other arguments are expected to provoke debate. But this is a by-product or secondary goal of the paper. The primary goal has been to show how the educational planner is a statesman and how educational planning is a noble activity of statesmanship in our age.